

Scargill says fight goes back to coalfields but NCB in no mood for compromise over pay and amnesty

Pit strike ends in defiance and tears

Delegates vote 98-91 for return to work

By Keith Harper, Labour Editor

One of the most significant chapters in Britain's trade union history was closed last night when the miners reluctantly agreed to call off their strike in a mood of bitterness and tears, almost a year after it had begun.

A delegate conference of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) at its headquarters in London decided by 98 votes to 91 to abandon the strike without agreement with the National Coal Board and call for an organised return to work tomorrow.

not be the most popular thing to say," Mr Eaton said.

After bowing to the growing divisions within the union over the conduct of the dispute, Mr Scargill condemned vast sections of the Labour movement and his hosts at Congress House for not rising to the occasion when it mattered by supporting the miners.

The NUM leader was just as forthright about his personal future, although his conduct of the dispute, while supported with much zeal by many miners, has been criticised both within the NUM and in the labour movement generally.

Mr Scargill said he regarded the 70.3 per cent figure which returned him as president as "infinitely more secure" than the figure polled by Mrs Thatcher at the last election.

The decision to abandon the strike by 98 votes to 91 came after an angry and passionate three-hour debate, in which a South Wales motion calling for an organised return to work tomorrow just held sway over one from Yorkshire.

This declared that the strike should go on until the future of the five named pits, Bulcliffe Wood, Polmaise, Snowdown, Herrington, and Cortonwood, was safeguarded, and that all those miners dismissed should receive an amnesty.

The executive was divided when it met early yesterday to consider reports from all the coalfields that it could not make a recommendation to delegates.

That did not please the conference, and Mr Scargill and his colleagues were sent back to discuss the situation again.

When delegates returned after a 30-minute adjournment, they were told that the executive had tied 11-11, and that therefore the strike would continue. For the first time for many months the unanimity displayed by the executive was broken.

On neither occasion did Mr Scargill use his casting vote at the executive meeting to break the deadlock.

Eight resolutions were discussed during the main debate, ranging from the Kent's hard-line view that the strike should continue to the feeling expressed strongly in areas like South Wales that the strike should be called off, and that individual areas should negotiate amnesties for all miners dismissed during the dispute for criminal offences.

Towards the end of the conference the debate began to coalesce around whether the strike should be called off before any amnesty was agreed.

Along the way delegates overwhelmingly defeated the Kent proposition that the strike should go on by 170 votes to 19, and a motion from Scotland proposing that a return to work would only be achieved after an amnesty had been negotiated.

When it came, Yorkshire's harder motion was supported by Kent, Scotland, the Midlands and the Scottish craftsman.

As delegates dispersed in the pouring rain outside TUC headquarters, where several hundred demonstrators waited to see the NUM leader, Mr Scargill said: "I think the initiative lies with them, even though it may be far from ideal."



Final confrontation: Mr Scargill and Mr McGahey face the throng outside Congress House after giving news of the vote. Picture by David Rose.

Despair of the sacked miners

By Patrick Wintour, Labour Staff

MINERS waiting outside Congress House reacted with raw and unrestrained emotion when their president and guide, Arthur Scargill, confirmed the news that their strike had just been ended.

Voices from Wales, Scotland and Yorkshire screamed at their leader, "Arthur, you've been betrayed," "Give us back our jobs," "We can't go back."

Mr Scargill, surrounded by the world's press and his fellow leaders, Mr Peter Heathfield and Mr Mick McGahey, looked at sudden supporters over the crash barrier and through the police line and said: "I want to say this. We have been involved in the greatest industrial struggle ever seen. I want to say to each and every one of you, I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart."

He then retreated back into Congress House. As he did so, one of the Scottish miners, at breaking point, screamed out at the walls of Congress House and the delegates remaining inside: "We've given you our hearts, we've given you our blood, we've given you everything, and then you sell us out. Day after day, you turn round and slap us in the face with a great big fish."

"We'll never go back to work," you heard and feathered with the rest of the scabby bastards."

All breath and emotion expended, the miner collapsed in tears to be comforted by his colleagues.

John Swain, a Polmaise miner, was equally stunned: "I've been sacked for pushing a police officer. I was sacked in September as soon as I was arrested. The judge has just given me a reprimand, but I'm still sacked. And what have I done? I fought for my job."

"Why should we go back? We've been out for 12 months and we've got nothing. What sort of a decision is this?"

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Thatcher calls for reconciliation

By James Naughtie, Political Correspondent

The Prime Minister said last night that the miners' return to work was an overwhelming relief for the Government and the country.

Mrs Thatcher committed herself to reconciliation, but made clear that she would not accept a blanket amnesty for strikers dismissed during the dispute.

Mr Thatcher said at Downing Street that the end of the strike was a victory for those miners who had worked throughout the dispute, and for other workers who had refused to take sympathetic action. "It was a victory for common sense and for those who stayed at work," she said on her return from a weekend at Chequers.

Her message was that the Government wanted peace in the pits, but she did not flinch from expressing her conviction in the Government's right to resist impossible demands and to stand firm against the

National Union of Mineworkers.

Earlier, the Energy Secretary, Mr Peter Walker, said: "We have wasted a year, and now we have got to make up for it. He was delighted at the return to work, and urged miners to avoid disruptive actions."

AS THE miners' strike ends tomorrow the Guardian will publish a four-page illustrated supplement looking back on the longest, costliest, and most divisive post-war strike. Keith Harper and Patrick Wintour will examine the origins and turning points of the dispute, the personalities and styles of the main protagonists, and the implications of the National Union of Mineworkers' defeat for organised labour, the Government and the Opposition.

Shame of men who returned. Sacked miners' plight, page 2; E3bn bill, Family that lived on pride, Year of taking liberties, page 17; Leader comment, page 12; Working miners remain organised force, back page.

"If there is any fighting after today it should be a fight to revive this industry, to unite the mining communities, and to see that the tragedies of the past year are compensated for by the success of the coming year," he said at the

Department of Energy soon after the back-to-work decision was announced.

Mrs Thatcher was said to be sad at what she believes to have been the mauling of Mr Ian MacGregor, the National Coal Board chairman, and her

disappointment that the courts

had rejected the NCB's case for a return to work, and that the Government had been forced to accept a negotiated settlement.

In contrast with the reluctance in the Government to detail outstanding disagreements between the NUM and the board, Mr Stan Orme, Labour's energy spokesman, said he was disappointed that the return to work had been organised without a negotiated settlement.

"There should be a negotiated settlement on the basis of the Nacods agreement (with the pit deputies and supervisors) which is still on offer from the NUM," he said.

"If we are to get lasting peace in the pits, the question of union victimisation and of amnesty must be dealt with, and that can only be done by a negotiated settlement. The

atmosphere of rejoicing. He said on This Week. Next Week on BBC television: "When this dispute ends it will be the end of a sad, sad story which has lasted longer than it should have done."

"It will not be a cause for rejoicing with the 400,000 miners who have lost their jobs, and who are now struggling to find work elsewhere."

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Today

QUIS CUSTODIET...

"It is precisely when the state becomes overmighty that the House of Commons should behave as the last defence of essential freedoms." Hugo Young, Page 12

IPSOS CUSTODES?

"Is Parliament willing to accept a party politician as the sole arbiter of what should be the target of surveillance? Geoffrey Robertson, Agenda, Page 18.

CULTURE CLUBBED

"The talk is always of money, seldom of art." Arts Guardian begins a week-long series on the Government's attitude to subsidy. Page 11.

Board hints at faster closures programme

By Keith Harper

The National Coal Board said last night that it could take up to six months to restore normal working throughout the industry.

Mr Michael Eaton, the board's spokesman, said that 61 pits had been destroyed and would not be replaced. He agreed that this meant that the NCB had lost the equivalent of 20 of its 17 pits.

Mr Eaton also made it clear that the need for a faster programme of closures had increased since the board announced on March 6 last year that it wanted to reduce production by 4 million tonnes.

The tenor of his remarks left no doubt that the board now feels free to proceed with an accelerated pit closure programme. The five pits named at the start of the dispute - Cortonwood, Herrington, Polmaise, Bulcliffe Wood and Snowdown - have been reviewed temporarily, but will be reviewed under the new procedure agreed with the pit deputies union, Nacods. There is no guarantee that they will be saved.

Mr Eaton stressed that the new colliery review procedure would start in June. It was unfortunate that the National Union of Mineworkers did not talk with

the board, but it was up to the union to reopen negotiations with the board on this point.

He emphasised that not all the markets lost during the strike would be regained. Despite the dispute, there was still 35 million tonnes of coal in stockpiles - 12 million held by the Central Electricity Generating Board and 20 million by the NCB - but a lot of this was "highly expensive" coal.

Mr Eaton said that Mr James Cowie, the board's deputy chairman, led a team round the country to study conditions at the collieries.

"I think we could expect some pits to return to normal in less than three months," Mr Eaton said, "but there will be considerable variations, and in some cases it could be six months."

He thought that miners would not wait on the official union return tomorrow, and would return to work today. It was now in the best interests of everyone, Mr Eaton declared, to resume normal working quickly, and for the parties concerned in the dispute to concentrate on the future success of the industry, and to commit themselves to reconciliation and restoration of relationships.

IRA kills policeman at church

From Paul Johnson in Belfast

A Roman Catholic police officer was killed by the IRA in front of his wife and three children yesterday as they were about to enter a church for morning Mass.

Sergeant Hugh McCormac, aged 30, was locking his car outside St Gabriel's retreat, near Kesh, County Fermanagh, when he was shot in the chest by a man armed with a rifle. As his wife and

children went to his aid, another IRA gunman, carrying a pistol, ran up and fired several shots into his body from point-blank range.

The two killers fled among worshippers gathering for the 10.30 am Mass, and ran away down a lane. A car believed to have been used by the gunman was later recognised near the border with the Irish Republic.

Sergeant McCormac, who had received eight commendations for his police work, is the 18th person to die in paramilitary-associated killings in the past 15 days.

A police instructor at the RUC training school at Enniskillen, Sergeant McCormac was a regular attendee at St Gabriel's. Friends in the congregation said yesterday that he had worried about his safety, and was thinking of quitting his visits to the church.

His wife Anne, sons David, aged 15, and Darren, aged 7, and daughter Elaine, aged 16, were in a state of shock last night.

Shortly after the killing the

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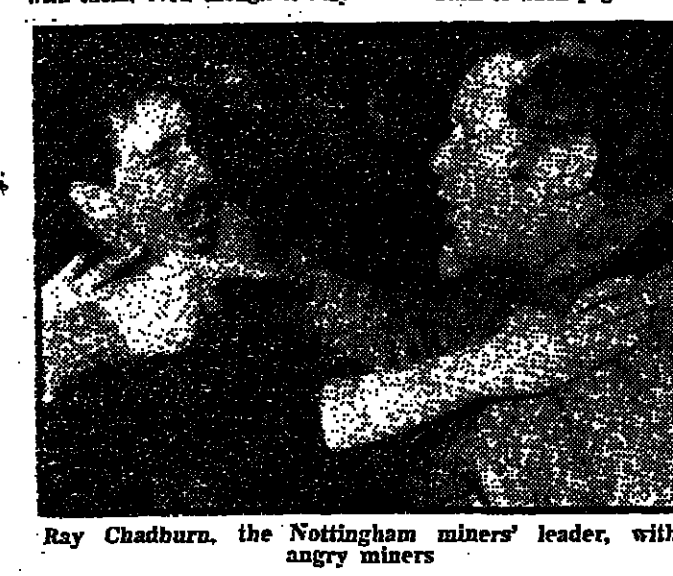
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Ray Chadburn, the Nottingham miners' leader, with angry miners

NEWS IN BRIEF

Famine crew held

THE five-man crew of a French air force aircraft engaged on famine relief in Ethiopia was seized by rebels yesterday. Page 6.

Rate-capping split

A BITTER split has opened up in the Labour left over how councillors should vote this week in budget meetings called in response to rate-capping. Page 3.

Chinese deal

LORD YOUNG'S trade mission to China has pulled off its first coup with the signing of an agreement for Cable and Wireless to play a leading role in a \$450 million telecommunications project. Page 21.

Soviet talks

WEST GERMANY'S Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher flew to the Soviet Union yesterday for hastily arranged talks with his counterpart, Mr Andrei Gromyko. Page 8.

Zia's decree

GENERAL Zia has granted himself sweeping new powers which leave Pakistan's newly elected assembly with little authority. Page 6.

The weather

WET and windy. Details back page.

Israelis pull back

THE Israeli Army yesterday began the second stage of its withdrawal from South Lebanon, with the full backing of the cabinet. Page 6.

£600m Fraser bid

A \$600 million takeover bid for the House of Fraser is expected today from the Egyptian Al-Fayed brothers. Back page.

Table with exchange rates for various currencies including the Australian dollar, Swiss franc, and others.

INSIDE

Table of contents for the magazine section, listing articles on Agenda, Arts, Business & Finance, Classified advertising, Crosswords, Guardian Women, Home News, Letters, Media, Motoring, Overseas News, Sports News, TV & RADIO, and ENTERTAINMENTS.

Handwritten text at the bottom of the page: "كتاب من الامم"

Strike leaves scars that must heal or fester



SCENES FROM THE STRIKE: Working Nottinghamshire miners (left) demanding a ballot outside the county's NUM headquarters at Mansfield, where striking pitmen demonstrated their hopes for victory (centre), and the familiar sight of a picket being arrested.

Shame of men who returned to work

By David Hearst

THE coal board talked of them as heroes, but for one miner who broke the strike in Yorkshire last week and passed the picket line he had mangled for 12 months said he felt like a criminal who had been caught.

No one called Paul Lethbridge a scab, as he went into Kellingley colliery, where the strike had been solid almost to a man until the final stages. At the strike centre, men drew a clear line between those who went back before Christmas under heavy police escort, and the men like Mr Lethbridge, who reached the end of his tether.

Mr Lethbridge owed his bank £2,656 in interest alone on the improvement loan for his house, which could have been repossessed.

"I just could not see an end to the strike. It could have gone on for another 12 months." He went back with tears in his eyes. "I know that 90 per cent of the men who went back with me, feel like I do."

It does not augur well for the NCB's show pit, which once broke all production records by digging over two million tons of saleable coal a year.

Those who have already returned pick their words carefully when they describe the atmosphere down the pit, mindful of the words of the manager, Mr Percy Simpson, that guerrilla action will not be tolerated.

All they say is that the pit will never again break the records. Without refusing orders, miners say they will not give their all to the under-managers who have been responsible for hastening the collapse of the strike by scuttling around for soft targets for their financial indecisions to return to work.

Even at Kellingley, whose coal reserves and geological conditions would be the envy of miners in Durham and South Wales, the future of the pit's 2,008 members of the National Union of Mineworkers and its 335 deputies is by no means certain. Compared to the newest pits in the Selby coalfield, Kellingley's manning levels look unenviable.

At Selby one man can move 40 powered tunnel supports by remote control, and manning levels on a retreat face have been cut from 17 to seven.

In the last year of production, Selby's Sillingfleet pit produced more coal with 649 men than Kellingley did with more than 2,200. Selby will soon produce more coal than all the other coalfields combined.

Colin McDonald, a hydraulics engineer, stayed out to the last. He said last week: "I want to salvage the union. I am proud to be a member of the NUM and I want to go back to work still proud of my union."

"But if we have a situation where 80 per cent of the men are back at work and 20 per cent are still out on strike, then the union is split in two."

Nowhere is that more obvious than on the streets of Kellingley, where working miners cross the road rather than walk past striking colleagues. No stones are thrown through working miners' front windows in North Yorkshire—a traditionally moderate area—but there is silence.

The local radio station appealed in vain for working miners to give their views in a debating last week. Only one working miner came on and he wished to remain anonymous.

David Miller, branch secretary at Kellingley said they would have to start from scratch in rebuilding the union. Personally against a return, he recognised the need to regroup for the battles that would inevitably loom on the horizon. "They will be wanting to privatise us next."

But there was an air of desperation in the voices of his men as the strike was collapsing. "There has got to be a union once we are back at pit. There has got to be."

Pledge to fight on inside the pits

By Paul Heyland

THERE were few celebrations in the South Wales valleys last night as the communities with the most solid support for the strike prepared to continue their fight from inside the pits, their claim are still threatened.

News bulletins announcing the end of the strike brought tears of relief in many households but little joy at the prospect of returning without a tangible victory.

The writing had been on the wall since last week when Mr Terry Thomas, the National Union of Mineworkers area vice-president, warned: "We are not prepared to allow other areas to fight to the last drop of the South Wales miners' blood."

An angry delegate conference at Porthcawl in mid-Glamorgan last Friday reluctantly decided to recommend an organised return to preserve the union. The South Wales men had 48 hours to adjust to the idea that the months of picketing and hardship were almost over.

Expressions of relief yesterday quickly gave way to deep concern that the coal board should grant an amnesty for the miners sacked during the dispute.

Mr Howard Davies, aged 42, an underground worker for more than 20 years said: "Unless the board declare an amnesty, I can see everlasting bitterness in the pits."

His colliery at Blaenau in West Glamorgan—like many others in the coalfield—is regarded as unenviable by the board, but he insists: "We could have a long secure future if the board carry out the necessary investment."

There is some bitterness about the 1,500 men who had crossed picket lines in South Wales—most of them in the past week—but the concern yesterday was about the reinstatement issue.

The biggest betrayal was that of the Nottinghamshire miners who let us down from the beginning," said Mr Davies. "The men want to go back to work but they won't want to go back in the wrong circumstances. We must have an amnesty."

The South Wales NUM has called for immediate negotiations with the board to secure the reinstatement of the region's 42 sacked men. They include four lodge officials and an area delegate conference next Saturday will consider management's response.

Penalties of dispute justice

THERE have been 9,750 arrests, 10,335 charges relating to the pits strike and 7,874 people charged, according to the Home Office; 5,528 cases have been dealt with, leading to 4,112 convictions and 1,416 acquittals.

The following table shows the number and nature of charges faced by miners by the end of February.

Offence	Number
Section 5 of the Public Order Act (conduct likely to cause a breach of the peace)	4,069
Obstruction of a police constable	1,682
Obstruction of the highway	640
Criminal damage	1,015
Intimidation with intent to endanger life	4
Arson	15
Assaulting a police constable	359
Actual bodily harm	424
Grievous bodily harm	39
Theft	349
Resisting arrest	19
Offensive weapon	49
Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act 1986	275
Burglary	31
Handling stolen property	1
Drug offence	1
Breach of the peace	207
Breach of bail conditions	32
Attempt (various offences)	18
Drunkennes	62
Unlawful assembly	508
Railway offences	20
Alfay	21
Riot	137
Incitement	1
Reckless driving	16
Threat/conspiracy to cause damage	13
Explosive offence	3
Threats to kill	5
Unlawful imprisonment	2
Other offences	294
Murder	3
Total	10,335

Plight of sacked miners the key to harmony

By Jean Stead

THE decision of the national delegate conference in London yesterday left more than 160 sacked miners in Scotland with apparently no future in the coalfield.

About a quarter of all miners dismissed are Scottish though the workforce north of the border at 12,400 is comparatively small. In the Lethbridge area alone, containing Bliston colliery—scene of some of the worst clashes between police and pickets—100 miners have been sacked. A coachload went to London yesterday to picket the delegate conference.

"We did not want the delegates to forget their existence," said Mr Jack Currie, a Bliston Glen delegate. "Feeling against going back to work without the men

who have been sacked is running very high."

The board last night offered no hope of an amnesty even for those convicted of minor offences. Dismissals have usually been on the grounds of "gross industrial misconduct" and the tough Scottish area director, Mr Albert Wheeler, appears to be unrelenting.

"We consider all the men dismissed in Scotland to have committed serious offences and there can be no amnesty," a Scottish NCB spokesman said.

The meeting of NUM area delegates in Edinburgh today is likely to be stormy over the question of whether there should be a return to work tomorrow without an amnesty.

At Polmaise, the first pit to come out on strike in the

country, miners have said they will not return even if there is an amnesty. The pit faces closure and 10 men have been sacked.

Mr David Hamilton, aged 34, the chairman of the Lethbridge strike committee, spent 10 weeks on remand in custody before being acquitted of an offence during a fight in the miners' club. He was later sacked by the National Coal Board in Scotland from his job at Monktonhall.

Jimmy Findlayson, aged 42, a power face worker at that colliery with 27 years down the pit has also been sacked and did not appear yesterday to grasp the fact that the strike might end without him being reinstated.

He said: "Friends have told me they wouldn't go back till I am reinstated and they have done so."

"I am not a violent person but I can't see me going back to work with people like that. Each one who went back has been another nail in the coffin of the ones who were sacked."

"It is hard to imagine what it will be like down the pit when it is over, because face workers rely on being a team and getting on with their mates."

"The Government does not realise what damage they have done to the mining communities. Honestly, I don't think it will ever be the same again. I have always thought miners were the salt of the earth but I never thought I would see them going back and stabbing the pit delegate in the back."

He did not go on strike in 1972 and 1974. That was

just for money. It was different this time. This was for survival," he said.

"I was arrested at Longannet power station. We were determined to try to speak to drivers of the lorries. The inspector said 'Right, list 20 of them' and I was handcuffed and put in the back of a van, my photo taken and fingerprinted."

"That time, I had an unproven verdict. But on the picket line in June I went to help a fellow up—he was being dragged away by the back of his head and dragged away, and he seemed to be suffocating. It was like a rugby scrum."

"I tried to pull him out, a policeman pulled me away and I was charged with breach of the peace. I got three charges in the sheriff's court and the law advised

Labour to invite Sinn Fein

By Martin Linton

Sinn Fein will be invited to send representatives to the next year after it voted once next year after it voted narrowly yesterday to hold discussions with "the majority of Republican opinion" in Northern Ireland.

The motion, which was carried on a card vote by 315,500 to 292,000, did not specify which parties should be invited, but it was made clear from the platform that it would be taken to mean all shades of Republican opinion, including Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA, as well as the Social Democratic and Labour Party.

Mr Ken Livingstone, leader of the Greater London Council, did not speak on the motion but he was the prime mover in persuading the London party executive to recommend acceptance of the motion.

He won the vote on the executive by 16 to 12, despite the opposition to talks with Sinn Fein which stretches from the right wing to Militant and includes a number of prominent leftwingers, who wanted the invitations limited to the SDLP, the small Workers' Party and the even smaller Northern Ireland Labour Party, who all opposed IRA violence.

The resolution is sufficiently ambiguous to allow its opponents to argue that it does not give a mandate for the London party to invite Sinn Fein.

It refers to representatives from "the majority of Republican opinion" and it is the SDLP, not Sinn Fein, that has always won a majority of Republican votes.

The London executive also recommended delegates to support a motion calling for "immediate and unconditional British withdrawal from Northern Ireland, and support for 'Troops Out' campaigns, but this was narrowly defeated by 305,000 to 294,000.

OBITUARY

Former MP

Commander Alfred Williams, aged 87, who was Conservative MP for North Cornwall from 1924 to 1929, has died at a nursing home in Devon. He served in two world wars. He was a farmer and horticulturist and a member of the daftodil committee of the Royal Horticultural Society.

MPs pass reselection challenge

By James Naughtie, Political Correspondent

Thirty-three Labour MPs had been endorsed by their constituency parties by last night, at the end of the first month of reselection under the party's rules.

Mr Don Compton, of Mansfield, Mr Ted Rowlands, Merthyr Tydfil and Rhymney, and Mr Robin Corbett, Erdington, yesterday joined colleagues already approved in the procedure.

The failure so far of any successful challenge to a sitting MP has pleased the party leadership, though some difficult contests have still to come.

Mr Bruce George, MP for Walsall South, came closest to defeat among those already reselected but succeeded last Friday in beating off a strong challenge from Mr Brian Powell, a former chairman of Walsall Borough Council.

There have been some surprises in seats where MPs are retiring. In Kirkcaldy, Fife, Mr Douglas Henderson, chairman of the party in Scotland, failed at the weekend to win the nomination following the announcement by Mr Harry Gourlay that he is stepping down.

Mr Henderson, who was favourite for the seat, was beaten by Dr Lewis Moonie, a Life regional councillor.

One of the areas being watched closely by party officials is the North-east, where several close contests are in prospect.

Already Militant Tendency supporters have suffered a notable defeat at the hands of Miss Joyce Quin in Gateshead East, and the main challenge to the traditionally rightwing party establishment is likely to come instead from leftwingers who have no Militant links.

One of these is Mr Alan Meale, research assistant to Mr Michael Meacher, the shadow social services secretary, who is seeking to replace Mr Ernie Armstrong, the retiring member in North-west Durham.

Mr Meale failed last month to win the nomination in Darlington, losing to Mr Ossie O'Brien, who won through with strong support largely attributed to his period of three months as the town's MP after the 1983 by-election.

Micro studies

Strathclyde University is to spend £3 million on providing each of its 7,000 students with a Sinclair Research microcomputer.

Bishop warns of anarchy danger as four IRA victims are buried

From Paul Johnson, in Belfast

Four more victims of the latest spate of IRA violence were buried in Northern Ireland yesterday.

At a service for Sergeant John Dowd, aged 31, one of the nine Royal Ulster Constabulary members killed in the mortar attack on Newry police station last Thursday, mourners were told that the people of Northern Ireland would have to show a new determination to live moral and peaceful lives.

The Bishop of Down and Dromore, the Right Reverend Robin Eames, said that the alternative was anarchy.

Speaking in Warrington, County Armagh, at the service for Sergeant Dowd, a married man and a member of the force's drug squad, the bishop said that the RUC was the community's defence and principal bulwark against terrorism.

The funeral also took place yesterday in Killeel, County Down, of the most senior ranking of the Newry victims, Chief Inspector Alex Donaldson, aged 41, and in Sixmilecross, County Tyrone, a service was held for Constable Ivy Kelly, aged 29, a married woman.

Private Trevor Harkness, aged 36, a father of five, the Ulster Defence Regiment soldier killed on Thursday night when an IRA booby trap bomb exploded when he was on patrol, was buried yesterday in Cookstown, County Tyrone.

The funeral of Constable Rosemary McGookin, aged 27, was held in Portlaoine, County Wick, and Constable David Topping, aged 22, was buried in Lurgan, County Armagh.

The funerals of the three other victims, Reserve Constable Sean McHenry, aged 19, single, of Newtownards, County Down, Reserve Constable Dennis Price, aged 22, single, of Glengormy, County Antrim, and Reserve Constable Paul McFerran, aged 33, single, of Belfast, will be held today.



Mrs Jennifer Dowd, herself a policewoman, at the funeral yesterday, of her husband John. With her is her father.

On Saturday three other victims of the Newry mortar attack were buried. The funeral in Hillsborough, County Down, of Reserve Constable Geoffrey Campbell, aged 24, who had been in the force for only a month, was attended by the Reverend Ian Paisley.

The leader of the Democratic Unionist Party told mourners that the Government had failed in its duty to defend the security forces.

The funeral of Constable Rosemary McGookin, aged 27, was held in Portlaoine, County Wick, and Constable David Topping, aged 22, was buried in Lurgan, County Armagh.

Wage protection warning

By David Rose

Proposals to end wages council and industrial tribunal protection for young people—expected shortly from Lord Young, the minister responsible for job creation—have already been rejected by the Government several times, according to a bulletin from the charity Youthaid to be published today.

The bulletin, The Government's Plans for Youth, was written by Mr Ian Williams, a civil servant sacked in 1983 for leaking confidential advice on employment legislation to the Guardian.

The proposals, according to the bulletin, are likely to emerge from a review of youth benefits by Lord Young's enterprise unit.

Wages Councils, which fix minimum pay rates in 28 industries covering nearly three million workers, have long been opposed by small business and free market pressure groups.

The Youthaid bulletin claims the public debate has been mirrored by discussion in Whitehall, with the Employment Department resisting pressure from the Treasury various "think tanks" and the Trade Department.

In late 1979, the bulletin says, the Employment Department completed a detailed study of wages councils, rejecting claims that they were inflationary or a burden on small businesses.

Yet the now-disbanded Central Policy Review Staff's report on youth unemployment suggested that young people should be deprived of the council's protection.

The bulletin says the Employment Department pre-empted the CPRS report, by persuading Mr Jim Prior, the Employment Secretary, to argue against the report's conclusion before it had been completed.

The Cabinet rejected the young people."

CPRS report's suggestion. By February 1982, Mr Patrick Jenkin, then Industry Secretary, had discussed the proposals with Mr Norman Tebbit. The idea was again rejected because of a convention to which Britain was a signatory.

The convention expires this year. The bulletin says Lord Young's arrival "tipped the balance" against the Employment Department.

The bulletin says the Treasury continues to press for change, arguing that young workers had not attained "full economic value" by 23.

Mr Paul Lewis, Youthaid's director, said last night that "the Government's new package of job measures is nothing more than old discredited ideas in new clothing. Nineteen eighty-five for international Year of Youth, looks like being a bad year for

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Larger counties to continue to fight by deficit budgeting

London Labour divided over no-rate option

By John Carvel, Local Government Correspondent

A bitter rift opened up among leading members of the London Labour left yesterday as to how councillors should vote in the key budget meetings which have been called for next Thursday in synchronised defiance of Mr Patrick Jenkin's rate-capping policy.

The long-term alliance between Mr Ken Livingstone, the leader of the Greater London Council, and Mr Ted Knight, leader of Lambeth council, seemed to have passed breaking point after two days of debate and acrimony at the London Labour Party annual conference.

The contrasting positions of Mr Livingstone and his deputy leader, Mr John McDonnell, also put their future working relationship under severe strain.

Sixteen Labour rate-capped councils and several others under threat of severe grant penalties had decided to hold budget meetings on Thursday at which they would vote to comply with the Government's legally-backed demands for cuts in jobs and services.

It is expected now that Shetfield, Leicester, Thamesdown, Manchester, Liverpool and the London boroughs of Camden, Greenwich, Hackney, Islington, Lambeth, Lewisham, Southwark and Haringey will pass motions that they consider it is impossible for them to make a rate.

These lower-tier authorities will have another chance to fix a rate before the district auditor or commercial ratepayer can step in to bring an action in the courts.

But there is a legal obligation on the upper tier county authorities to make a rate by March 10. If councillors on these authorities fail to do so, they can be surcharged, disqualified from public office and possibly bankrupted.

Faced with this threat, Merseyside and South Yorkshire councils are proposing to fix a legal rate and embark on a programme of covert deficit budgeting.

They will make unspecified cuts in their budgets, but hope to avoid making any cuts in services this year. Labour councillors on these authorities argue that this strategy is essential if they are to continue to pay the subsidies on which their cheap fares policies rely.

The district council of Basildon is expected to be the only lower-tier authority to join these two counties in budgeting for a deficit on Thursday.

This puts all the Labour left political pressure on the GLC and the Inner London Education Authority.

Late on Friday, GLC officers provided the council's leadership with fresh information about how its accounts could be manipulated to live within the Government's rate-capping income limit without making any cuts in the coming financial year.

Their report, known as FGP 1000, says that to be certain of achieving this the council would have immediately to halt further growth.

It also points out, however, that problems connected with the planned abolition of the GLC make it highly unlikely that all the planned spending of £552 million can be achieved.

Until last week, it had been assumed that there was no question of the GLC voting illegally to refuse to fix a rate. It was expected that the GLC Tory group would join with those Labour councillors who objected on principle to law-breaking to form a majority for a legal rate.

However, the GLC Tories have reportedly received counsel's advice that they may safely abstain on the critical vote if they have previously been outvoted by Labour on an alternative legal rate. Then the GLC might vote to go illegal by a simple majority within the Labour group.

The position on ILEA is too close to call. On Friday there were an estimated 22 ILEA councillors in support of the no-rate option, 22 against it, with two on holiday and two undecided.

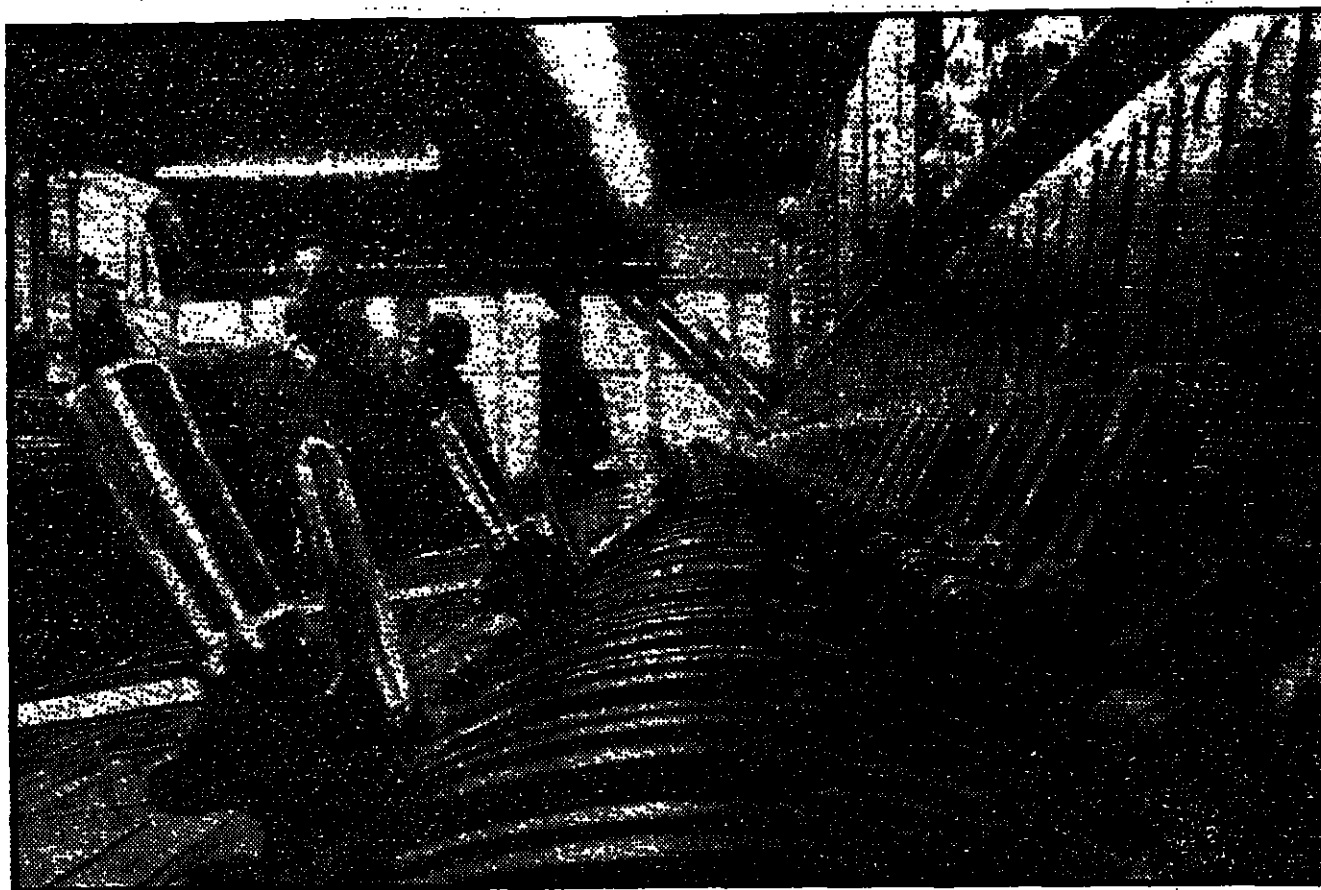
When the London Labour Party met to decide how councillors should behave on Thursday, Mr Livingstone spoke for the illegal no-rate option for the GLC, but added that the boroughs should firm up their resolutions to ensure that they went illegal at the same time.

Mr Livingstone's point was that it was unreasonable for Labour councillors on the GLC and ILEA to put themselves outside the law, urged on by others whose relatively harmless resolutions did not expose themselves to similar risk.

Mr Knight told the conference: "Quite frankly, it is a bit late for some comrades to realise that there are problems." GLC Labour members should carry out Labour Party policy, as should borough councillors, he said.

The Lambeth district auditor had sent letters which councillors will receive today warning them of his attitude to failure to set a rate. Mr Knight disagreed with Mr Livingstone's plan to fight by-elections if councillors were disqualified. Instead, "London must come to a halt until those comrades are reinstated."

The Lambeth district auditor had sent letters which councillors will receive today warning them of his attitude to failure to set a rate. Mr Knight disagreed with Mr Livingstone's plan to fight by-elections if councillors were disqualified. Instead, "London must come to a halt until those comrades are reinstated."



Signalling the electronic way ahead

CLAPHAM Junction signalbox (above) 80 years old, but still controlling the busiest railway junction in the world, is to be demolished as part of the wholesale resignalling of the line, writes Geoff Andrews.

In three years its task of controlling the 2,000 trains a day that use the 12 lines into Waterloo and Victoria

will be taken over by a new electronic signal box at Wimbledon, and the crumbling collection of wooden buildings that bridge the tracks will be demolished and the brass and wood power frame signalling system installed in 1986 sold to collectors.

Demolition almost came 20 years ago, when the entire structure suddenly

sagged under the weight of steel sheeting which had been erected during the war to protect the signal box from shrapnel during air raids. For several days the entire network of services was thrown into confusion, but operations were restored with the removal of the old armour.

Picture by Martin Argles

Handling costs may exceed cold spell benefits

By David Hencke, Social Services Correspondent

Administrative costs could outweigh the benefits paid to help pensioners and the poor meet high fuel bills caused by recent cold weather, according to official figures for the Midlands.

Figures released to Mr Jeff Rooker, Labour MP for Perry Barr, show that the average payment to claimants in Walsall and Handsworth, Birmingham, has been £2.07 each.

This figure was confirmed by the Department of Health and Social Security as typical for the whole of the Midlands.

Mr Bill Eagles, an information officer with Help the Aged said: "We are in a position where hardly anybody can get help and even when they can the money is derisory. We believe there are cases of people receiving 50p or 60p."

The highest exceptional severe weather payments look like being paid to people living in East Anglia — where a claimant with a £100 bill might receive £10 — and in London and the Home Counties.

The department has told MPs that it is "too expensive" to collect the figures to give an analysis of the average claims and the number of people helped.

But figures are to be collected for Mr Alan Parsons, the department's chief adjudication

officer, when he reviews the payments. Unofficially the cost of processing claims, postage and paying post offices to cash the benefits could exceed the total in benefits.

One reason for low payments is that quarterly bills only qualify for help if average temperatures remain low.

This meant that some bitter weather in February was "cancelled out" by exceptionally mild weather before Christmas.

People claiming help for weekly purchases of coal or paraffin and those on slot meters can also be disqualified.

A case brought in Nottingham has confirmed that the regulations do not allow payments to people if they have already paid the bill.

In those cases they have to show that they will have to go without something else which qualifies for another single payment under DHSS regulations. Those who go without food to pay the bill cannot claim help.

Mr Gordon Brown, Labour MP for Dunfermline east, said Mr Norman Fowler, the Social Services Secretary, has refused to agree a date for a meeting to discuss the unfairness of the payments and the failure to help people in Scotland.

Last year, the ministry decided not to appeal if any claimant won a case on humanitarian grounds.

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Mr Ken Livingstone (left) and Mr Ted Knight—weekend of acrimony



Yard seeks extradition of banker

From Eric Silver in New Delhi

MR Rajendra Sethia, who is alleged to have defrauded the London branches of three nationalised Indian banks of at least £200 million, was undergoing intensive questioning in a New Delhi prison over the weekend.

He was arrested in a five-star New Delhi hotel early on Saturday morning, and was remanded in custody for six days by a magistrate. Scotland Yard is reported to have sought his extradition to face fraud charges in England.

Mr Sethia, a London-based Indian businessman in his thirties, returned to India a month ago. He is alleged to have borrowed huge sums from the three banks — the Punjab National, Central Bank and Union Bank — against suspect deals in sugar and other commodities with the Nigerian Government.

Delhi court on Saturday taking counsel, told the New Delhi court on Saturday that Mr Sethia had conspired with his own staff and those of the banks to obtain the loans with "manipulated documents."

Mr Sethia appeared in court here sporting a beard, white open-necked shirt and blue jeans. He claimed that the loans were being repaid. This was disputed by the prosecution.

Inquiry into Murrell murder

By Stephen Cook

West Mercia police will announce this afternoon the name of a senior officer from another force who is to review their handling of the case of the murder of Miss Hilda Murrell.

Miss Murrell, aged 79, was found dead in a wood near Shrewsbury a year ago after her house had been burgled. She was at the time of her death preparing a paper opposing the building of a nuclear power station at Sizewell, Suffolk.

The police announcement will be made on the same day as the screening of a World in Action programme which is expected to produce new details on the case, and suggest that the police were premature in their conclusion that Miss Murrell was killed by an opportunist burglar looking for money.

Her nephew, Mr Rob Green, a senior naval officer at fleet headquarters at the time of the Falklands war in 1982, has said that she could have been killed by someone looking for the evidence on nuclear waste which she was due to present to the Sizewell inquiry.

MPs and others have suggested that the security services were involved.

The decision to review the case follows an acrimonious interview last week between the television team and Mr Bernard Drew, an assistant chief constable in West Mercia police. It was seen in some quarters as a move to pre-empt any criticism in the programme.

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Commons row due on hedge grant bill

In the vanguard of rebellion

By Michael Morris
ENVIRONMENTAL groups expect a fight in the Commons this week over a move to give the Government extra responsibilities for conservation on farms.

Powers to provide grant aid for farmers to plant and maintain hedges and small woodlands would be strengthened under a private member's bill to make six amendments to the Wildlife and Countryside Act.

But the groups feel the hedge grant amendment will face the most government opposition on Wednesday when the bill, introduced by Dr David Clark, Labour environment spokesman, reaches the committee stage, where the Government has a majority.

Mr Charles Secrett, Friends of the Earth countryside campaigner, said his group was now lobbying MPs to support the amendment warning that 2,000 miles of hedgerow are being dug up every year.

He said: "One of the things we have been campaigning on for more than two years is how little assistance farmers get from the Ministry of Agriculture in advice or aid, to help them look after features like hedges or small woodlands."

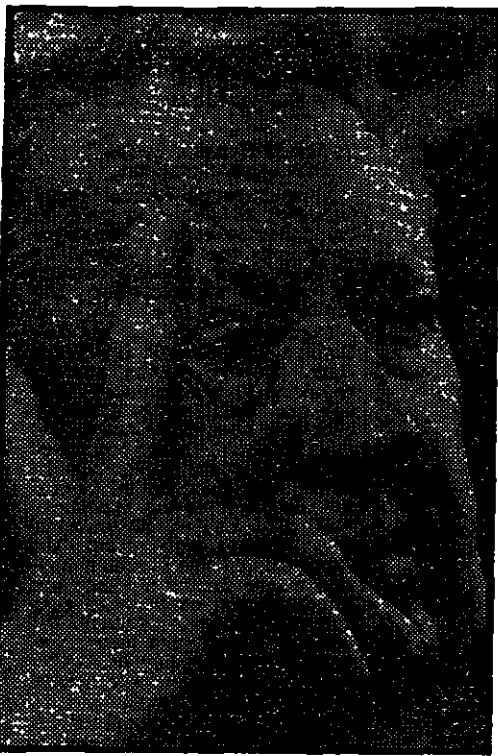
The amendment, which FoE and other groups helped to draft, gives the minister increased powers to make further conservation, and the Government would have to revise the basis of grants for planting hedges or maintaining coppices for timber production.

Mr Secrett said: "The woodlands provide some useful return for the farmer, but like the hedges they also act as a windbreak against erosion and conserve wildlife."

Recently, FoE launched a special effort to win over farmers in Hereford and Worcester, Shropshire, and Gloucestershire, which remain untouched by the effects of intensive agriculture met in East Anglia.

A Herefordshire FoE group has alerted the Leominster District Council over the sale of a traditional farm in three lots to separate farmers, one of whom is claimed to have removed most of the hedges and cut down trees on the eastern half of the farm.

The National Farmers' Union said that it did not object in principle to the proposed amendment, but added that it was not sure what effect it might have in practice.



THE ANGRY BRIGADE: Edward Heath (left) and (above) Den Dover, Robert Hicks, Terry Dicks and Neil Hamilton.

As the whips count the cost of a large Commons majority, David McKie provides a who's who to MPs answering the call of Tory dissidents

AN unusual event took place at the end of the Commons debate on the sinking of the General Belgrano two weeks ago. The former Conservative prime minister Edward Heath voted for the Government.

At the close of play in the Commons on Friday there had been 129 opportunities to vote for the Government since the new session opened in October. Mr Heath had availed himself of just six.

On the very first day he supported a motion authorising the printing of the Votes and Proceedings of the House, opposed by the Alliance for tactical reasons. On November 27, he voted against a Labour motion on the crisis in the shipbuilding industry. His next vote came on January 15, at the end of a debate on a Labour motion on unemployment.

He backed the Government but failed to vote for the Prime Minister's amendment endorsing her government's economic policies, put to the House 10 minutes later.

Mr Heath's fourth vote, the next week, was in support of additional payments to the European Economic Community. His fifth and sixth were in the two Belgrano divisions on February 18.

His absences can hardly be said to have threatened the Government's existence. With an overall majority of 142, the whips rarely call on their full back-bench forces for a division.

The exception occurred on January 31, when Labour put down what amounted almost to a motion of censure on overall majority of 142, the whips rarely call on their full back-bench forces for a division.

In Mr Heath's case, however, a long standing overseas commitment prevented his return. This is thought to have been the first case in parliamentary history when an MP was unable to vote in the Commons because he was conducting the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra.

The size of the Government's majority has clearly meant problems, mostly by creating an atmosphere for far more rebellions. But it has also enabled the whips to call only lightly on some long-serving members, from the "dry" as well as from the "wets" end of the party. And mercifully it has also brought to a halt the long-standing Commons tradition of dragging ailing and infirm members to Westminster for crucial votes. One or two Conservative MPs have for health reasons hardly voted at all this session.

Among the 12 backbench MPs who have voted least often in this session, six could be classed in the "senior dissident" category. Sir Ian Gilmour has voted with the Government on only 16 occasions. Mr Francis Pym on 20, Mr James Prior, now much involved in industry, on 21, and Mr Julian Critchley on 21, and Mr Patrick Cormack on 22.

Many of the missed votes have been deeply trivial. But some have been absent on big occasions too. On selection of 12 divisions on issues where Government prestige seemed especially at stake or where significant rebellions threatened—votes on the central thrust of economic policy, local government legislation, rates and water rates, restrictions on local government spending,

Stansted, and the Belgrano among them—shows Mr Heath voting on only one out of 12, the Belgrano, Sir Ian voting three times and Mr Prior and Mr Critchley four.

But others also absent on a high number of occasions by no means belong to the wet reaches of the party. Mr Nicholas Winterdon (Macclesfield) and his wife Anna (Congleton) missed nine out of these 12 votes. They are right-wingers out of sympathy with the Government on a wide range of issues.

But their record is also affected by a visit to South Africa from which the whips were unable to persuade them to make an early return.

It is by abstaining rather than in votes against the Government that surviving Tory wets tend to demonstrate their disillusion. That makes their records difficult to plot.

Deliberate abstentions are not logged in Hansard and an MP's absence from a key division is just as likely to reflect urgent commitments—sometimes parliamentary—where, or the whips' readiness to grant a night off, as any conscious decision to withhold support.

Mr Heath, for instance, missed two divisions on limits on local authority spending last Monday night.

On January 30, 70 Conservatives voted against the Government on a debate on airports' policy, with special reference to the future of Stansted and Heathrow. This revolt was of such substantial proportions that the Government ducked out of the

vote and told its supporters to abstain.

The other best-supported revolts of the session have been: November 21—14 Conservatives opposed the second reading of the Civil Aviation Bill, mainly because of concern about its implications for Stansted. Later, Tory rebels twice brought proceedings of the standing committee to a halt by refusing to vote for a timetable.

December 12—18 MPs supported a move to give London a directly elected authority when the GLC goes. January 15—14 opposed a Government order affecting certain kinds of sweets thought to have a health danger for children.

February 7—13 rebelled against government moves which will raise the level of water rates.

February 14—13 supported a plan to restrict voting in Euro-elections to British citizens.

Sir Ian has voted against the Government three times, twice on the future of London and once on water. Mr Pym voted against the Government on Stansted. But votes against the Government by senior dissidents are relatively rare. The younger MPs tend to be more fractious.

The most prolific rebel so far is Den Dover, a former GLC councillor who has resented Chorley since 1982.

He has voted seven times against the Government.

Robert Hicks (Cornwall SE) comes much closer than Mr Dover to most people's idea of a card carrying wet. He was one of the Conservative MPs whom the Social Democratic Party hoped to capture during the last Parliament. He has voted five times against the Government.

Seven Tories have voted four times against the Government including two new members, Mr Terry Dicks (Hayes and Harlington), one of many new MPs who came to Westminster from local government, and Mr Neil Hamilton from Tatton.

Curiously, the first vote cast against the government in this session by one of its own supporters came from a junior minister at the Northern Ireland Office, Mr Nicholas Scott. Having asked the House to reject a Unionist amendment to the Elections (Northern Ireland) Bill, he hurried into the division lobby to vote only to discover too late that it was the wrong one.

By a time-honoured Commons custom, he was able to race into the other lobby and cast a second vote, this time against the amendment, thus cancelling himself out.

One of the aims of the bill is to prevent people in the province voting more than once in elections.

Police fear losing power to Whitehall with joint boards

By Stephen Cook

The police and the Home Office are increasingly worried about the Government's plans to replace police authorities by joint boards when the six Metropolitan counties are abolished in a year's time.

They are concerned that the joint boards, which consist of local councillors and magistrates, will find it hard to agree about policing problems and priorities, leaving more power in the hands of central government.

Labour politicians also point out that the six police authorities, covering a third of the country's population outside London and which are now controlled by directly-elected Labour majorities, will pass overnight under the control of non-elected Conservative councillors and appointed magistrates.

This will in theory give chief constables a much freer hand. But the Government plans to rein in the boards, spending power for their first three years, and chief constables may well find themselves battling with the Home Office over finance rather than with their police authorities over alleged attempts at political control.

Mr Patrick Jenkin, the Environment Secretary, has said that district councils will in due course form separate police forces, an idea fiercely opposed by the Home Office, which has spent the past 10 years consolidating the police force amalgamations of 1974.

Lord Whitlaw, Deputy Prime Minister and former

Home Secretary, has told an academic researcher, Mr Barry Lovelady, of Birmingham Polytechnic, that the joint boards could cause problems. "The people concerned will come from different councils, with different views."

"It is all very well saying there is already a joint police authority from different councils in the Thames Valley, but Oxfordshire, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire have a good deal more in common than the Wirral and St Helens."

"The chairman of the new police authority of this sort, on Merseyside or wherever, is going to have a difficult time."

Some senior police officers, who requested anonymity for fear of being accused of political interference, regret the prospect of established working relationships with police authorities being destroyed.

Mr Edwin Shore, chairman of the police committee of the Association of Metropolitan Authorities, says that members of police authorities have been building up experience and are "only beginning to ask the right questions."

Nominated councillors from districts are unlikely to have the same commitment, he says, and their interests will be sectional. "One third of the boards will be magistrates and they will hold the balance if the Tories don't have control. The chief constables will run rings round them, and I think the Home Office will end up taking far greater control if they're going to keep things on an even keel."

Inquiry into shooting

By Penny Charlton

A police inquiry is going on into allegations that six officers shot at suspected raiders in a London street on Saturday without giving any warning.

The police officers shot and wounded one of the men, who had a bullet removed from his chest on Saturday night.

He has not been named, but was said by police yesterday to be "satisfactory" and under guard at the Middlesex Hospital.

Two other men were charged with conspiracy to rob, and possession of a revolver. Paul Gray, aged 20, from Islington, north London, and Robert Howe, aged 23, from Edmonton, both men played, will appear in court at store with the day's taking.

Clerkenwell today. The internal inquiry into the shooting is headed by Detective Chief Superintendent David Bretton. Under Metropolitan Police rules on the issue and use of firearms, officers are required to warn that they are armed before firing at an armed suspect.

According to several witnesses in Caledonian Road, Islington, no warning was heard.

The police, who had apparently been tipped off about a planned raid at a freezer centre, leapt from a taxi and used an unmarked car to ram the alleged raiders' vehicle.

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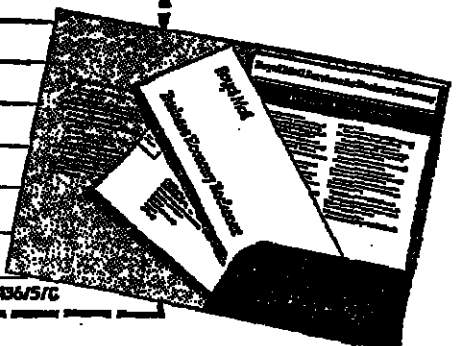
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Three-month target for the huge military operation

Israel starts second phase of Lebanon withdrawal

From David Landau in Jerusalem

The Israeli Army yesterday began the second stage of its withdrawal from south Lebanon, within hours of a unanimous cabinet decision approving the pullback.

The second stage encompasses much of the south-east, from the Barukh mountains down into the Bekaa Valley, where the Israelis have been facing the Syrians for nearly three years. When it is completed—within three months, according to military sources—the Israeli line will run just north of the Druze town of Haizayia.

The Defence Minister, Mr Yitzhak Rabin, told the Cabinet yesterday that a three-month target was the tightest schedule the army could meet. He pointed out that there was still snow on the ground, which would slow the removal work, and that an enormous amount of equipment had to be dismantled and transported—or else blown up.

The Israelis have a large electronic intelligence-gathering facility on top of Mount Barukh which will be relinquished as part of the withdrawal.

Government sources denied that yesterday's decision had been hastened in response to "casualties sustained by the army in Lebanon, or to growing public pressure to speed up the withdrawal."

In January, the Cabinet decided on the three-stage pull out, not specifying a time frame for each stage, but underlining that Israel would be out of Lebanon by the summer. Late in February, the army completed the first stage, evacuating the port of Sidon and its hinterland, on the western side of south Lebanon.

Guerrilla attacks on the Israeli troops have increased since then, however, especially in the area around Tyre, and Mr Rabin has introduced a harsh "firm hand" policy in the villages still under Israeli control on the western front.

to curb the Shiite resistance. On Saturday, the Shiite leader in Beirut, Mr Nabih Berri, warned that his adherents would take their fight over the border into Israel itself unless the army's harassment ceased.

The eastern front, scene of the new pullback, has been relatively quiet. Nevertheless, the army is taking the meticulous care to guard the troops as they set about the complex logistical task of packing and loading entire bases on to convoys of huge lorries.

Labour Party ministers were gratified at how smoothly the cabinet decision was taken yesterday. Even the hardline Mr Ariel Sharon (Likud), Minister of Trade and formerly Minister of Defence, voted in favour.

But Mr Sharon made it clear in the discussion that his acquiescence would by no means be so easily won when it came to the third and final stage.

He complained that the army's plans would not provide sufficient security for the northern border, and urged that Israel mark out a 25-mile cordon *sans-durée* north of the border, to be controlled by Israeli soldiers and by the Israeli-backed "South Lebanon Army."

The United Nations force, Unifil, should be required to redeploy north of this line, Mr Sharon said. Political observers predicted deepening disputes between Labour and Likud ministers as the time of the final pullback draws near.

On the West Bank, Israeli officers are to decide today whether to suspend studies at the University of Bir Zeit after an army raid on the university's two campuses discovered large quantities of literature, said to be inflammatory. One of the books seized was said to contain instructions on how to prepare home-made bombs.

Israel is thought to be reluctant to force a confrontation with the university at this time of intense diplomatic activity centring on the Palestinian issue.

Peace initiative taking shape

From David Land in Cairo, and agencies

MR YASSER ARAFAT is firmly committed to the Palestine Liberation Organisation's agreement with Jordan on a joint approach towards peace in the Middle East.

But the PLO chairman denounced the United States for its "shameful response" to the accord, its "hypocritical" refusal to recognise the Palestinian group and its "bizarre bias" towards Israel, the New York Times reported yesterday.

In an interview conducted at a Tunisian resort, Mr Arafat also repeatedly refused to endorse the UN Security Council resolution 242, a key document calling for the return of territories occupied by Israel in the 1967 war in exchange for peace. The resolution, endorsed as a basis for peace by Israel, Egypt, Jordan, and the US, refers to Palestinians as "refugees" rather than providing for Palestinian self-determination.

Mr Arafat said that he had not totally rejected the Egyptian President, Mr Mubarak's plan for a peace summit with Israel.

In Jerusalem, the Prime Minister, Mr Shimon Peres, told his Cabinet yesterday that Israel would meet a Jordanian delegation that included Palestinians "any time or any place."

But he reiterated Israel's objections to President Mubarak's suggestion that a joint Jordanian-Palestinian team meet American negotiators in Washington before Israel joined the talks. This "should be rejected," he said.

The Prime Minister, commenting on diplomatic contacts with Egypt last week, said: "We must continue to coordinate positions between Israel and the United States on broadening the peace in our region, encouraging and advancing any peace proposal."

He appeared to be keeping aloof Israel's interest in Mr Mubarak's initiative. Some cabinet officials have called the Egyptian proposal sketchy and said that peace talks were not imminent.

Officials speaking to reporters hours after Mr Peres's return from talks in Cairo denied reports of a planned Peres-Mubarak summit in the near future.

In Cairo, the Foreign Minister, Mr Esmat Abdel-Negulo, also dismissed the prospect of an early summit. President Mubarak is still to take his proposal to Washington when he pays an official visit later this month. He also reportedly is trying to rally support in Arab capitals.

President Mubarak and King Hussein of Jordan will meet in Egypt on Wednesday to formalise the joint peace proposals to be presented to President Reagan.

Government sources said that King Hussein had already agreed privately to endorse the proposals. The precise proposal is not yet clear, but Mr Mubarak seems to be calling for a three-stage approach to peace.

First, there would be direct dialogue between the United States and a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation; second, expanded talks in Cairo involving Israel and other interested parties; and third, an international conference to put its seal of approval on a settlement.

His aim, aides to the Egyptian leader say, is to be able to go to the White House representing a coalition of moderate Arab states with a common plan for peace, and thereby to force a favourable response from Washington. — Los Angeles Times.

Zia by-passes assembly to seize extra powers

From Al Jaz Brodri in Islamabad

General Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan, without waiting to consult the National Assembly returned in last week's elections, has decreed constitutional changes which give him sweeping powers.

General Zia will choose the prime minister, the armed forces chiefs, and the four provincial governors. In addition, he will have absolute power to decide his powers under the Constitution and indemnity clauses ensure that he cannot be questioned.

His only concession to the elected assembly is not to give himself a veto of legislation, but delay proceedings for 45 days. However, he can dissolve Parliament whenever he thinks fit.

Convening on March 23, the new parliament will be empowered to overturn General Zia's Constitution, but the obstacles seem insuperable. Opponents will need a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly and the Senate, which is not directly elected, and a simple majority in each of the four provincial assemblies.

As those who took part in the non-party elections were almost all to some degree pro-regime, a revolt of those proportions seems unlikely.

By ignoring the claims of the newly elected to power, General Zia will have hardened some attitudes. The healthy turn-out at the poll led many members-elect to believe they had a popular mandate. The defeat of many closely associated with the regime was seen as a vote for democracy, and against dictatorship.

General Zia's announcement on Saturday night, crushed a brief flowering of optimism. The General insisted that the prime minister will be the chief executive. But the new executive authority of the country will be vested in the President and will be exercised by him. Under the 1973 parliamentary constitution, executive authority was exercised "in the name of the President, by the Federal Government."

Article 81 states that the Cabinet will "aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions." The President shall act in accordance with the advice of the Cabinet, and a simple majority in each of the four provincial assemblies.

Article 48 says but is followed by an unequivocal subparagraph giving the President full discretion to act in any way he is empowered by the Constitution.

The arbiter of those powers is the President whose decision on the matter "shall be final and the validity of anything done by the President shall not be called in question."

There are several such absolute clauses, and under the amendments, the President can give himself extensive powers without them being called in question in any way. So there is little check on his powers as drafted.

"It could just introduce a workable system," a Western diplomat said, "but much would depend on the person and disposition of the President."

General Zia has written his own name into the Constitution. Because of December's controversial referendum, which was widely accepted as fraudulent, he is to be President for five years from the sitting of Parliament.

General Zia's stated plan is to introduce some form of civilian democracy gradually. Several members-elect of the National Assembly have said they will fail unless Parliament is given real power.

Some say they will quit if such "civilian democracy" turns out to be merely what the opposition politicians said it would be—a cover for General Zia's power. But they are still prepared to give it a chance, not wanting to destroy



General Zia: changes guarantee presidency

the plan before it begins. "We never expected democracy immediately," said one. A clause in the constitutional amendments, which are called The Revival of the Constitution of 1973, states that any laws inconsistent with fundamental rights are void, shall not apply to the President's orders.

Observers are concerned lest this implies that, despite a Cabinet and legislature, General Zia intends to continue rule by decree. This he does at present, using martial law which will not be lifted when the assemblies convene. Martial law will be phased out during the coming months, he said.

Bulawayo sealed off for search

From Andrew Meldrum in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe

The biggest military clampdown ever imposed in this capital of Attercliffe province, a stronghold of the opposition, leader, Mr Joshua Nkomo, was lifted last night after two days in which 10,000 troops and police had searched houses for weapons.

Roadblocks manned by armed soldiers and officers of the Central Intelligence Organisation, sealing off the sprawling western suburbs that are home to about 300,000 blacks were earlier yesterday moved further from the city centre. But residents inside the military cordon were not allowed to leave their homes.

It had seemed likely yesterday that the sealed-off western area would open this morning in allow township residents to return to work.

The western suburbs are home to an estimated 400,000 blacks, representing about 10 per cent of Bulawayo's population, and a continuation of the strict curfew would bring the city's industry and commerce to a halt.

Mr Nkomo left his home in the townships as the curfew was imposed and arrived in Harare yesterday where he said that the operation was an effort to intimidate and demoralise supporters of his Zanu party.

The Government said that the clampdown was needed to quell factional violence between the Zanu and Zanu parties which has claimed 10 lives in the past two weeks.

Zanu officials said that the strict curfew is just another aspect of the ruling Zanu party's effort to break Zanu's support in this city and the surrounding area. They tell of a series of abductions of hundreds of community leaders from the rural areas, confirmed by missionary sources.

The sources, who all wish to remain anonymous for fear of reprisals, also describe how busloads of Zanu's youth brigades came to Matabeland towns and villages with armed military escorts. They viciously beat the locals, exhorting them to vote for the Prime Minister's party, Zanu, as the armed men stood by.

The youth brigade, along with leaders from the North Korean-trained Fifth Brigade, is blamed for the unexplained disappearances of local Zanu officials, teachers, and hospital administrators. According to the accounts, civilians are taken away at night by men driving unmarked white Land Rovers which have no licence plates. The abductees are reported to have hit lists. No one knows where the abducted people have gone, and they are presumed dead.

Some people who knew they were being sought fled to friends' homes in Bulawayo and it is not known if they were detained in the house, to-house searches this weekend.

A Zanu supporter said: "I saw a car that if you were taken away in one of these white vans you will never come back." He added: "They think that by taking our leaders they can frighten us to vote for Zanu, but I think our people are stronger than that."

The curfew is much larger than previous clampdowns on the townships in 1983 and 1984. The Zimbabwe Army's first, third, fourth, and fifth brigades are taking part.

People who have broken up with friends inside the township say that the searches have generally been orderly.

There are, however, reports from township residents that some of the searches were being sought to find weapons. The homes of four senior Zanu officials in the eastern suburbs, formerly white, were searched yesterday morning.

Sydney Mungu, Zanu's chief parliamentary spokesman, reported that two of his sons were taken into custody.

The five-man crew of the French air force plane, engaged in famine relief, was seized by rebels in northern Ethiopia yesterday.

On the shifting pattern of guerrilla advance and retreat, the crew may not have realised that the town Lalibela, where they landed with 80 tons of food, was in rebel hands. In October rebels took possession of the town and captured several foreigners, who were later released.

The plane, a twin-engine Transal capable of carrying 100 passengers or 17 tons of freight, left the French territory of Djibouti and landed in Addis Ababa without receiving any warning of problems ahead. It then flew on to Lalibela, 200 miles north of the capital in Wollo province. Wollo had been badly hit by famine and security problems.

A West German plane flew over Lalibela after the incident and saw the Transal abandoned. The five Frenchmen, two officers and three NCOs, were being held hostage and taken to an unknown destination, according to French diplomatic sources in Addis Ababa.

The French military authorities in Djibouti were put on alert.

Cash to fight pirates

From Iain Guest in Geneva

TWELVE Western governments, including Britain, have agreed here to contribute another \$2.7 million (£2.5 million) to help the Thai navy fight piracy when the present programme expires in June.

Fifty-nine Vietnamese refugees were killed by pirates last year—an increase on the 42 deaths reported in 1983. Last year, donors contributed \$1.6 million to the anti-piracy programme, which has been extended annually since it began in June, 1982. The money has been spent funding aerial and naval patrols.

Some Western countries refused to participate on the grounds that it was a disguised form of military aid to the Thai armed forces. Others, including the British Government, were upset by reports early last year that Thai vessels had towed off Vietnamese refugee boats, and even rammed them.

The reports caused a crisis in relations between the Thai Government and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, but there is general agreement here that they were responsible for a much tougher approach towards piracy by the Thais last year.

Not a single pirate was convicted in 1983. According to UNHCR figures presented to the meeting, 25 Thai fishermen from six fishing vessels were arrested last year and charged with crimes of "rape, abduction, robbery, attempted robbery, and restraint of liberty." No one was reported to have been charged with murder.

Ershad in peace call

DEAKA: President Ershad, who banned political activity and reinforced martial law, yesterday urged people to cooperate with his Government in the cause of a peaceful Bangladesh.

Speaking to troops outside the capital, General Ershad also said that the country had witnessed repeated moves to create violence and violate laws in the name of politics.

But the Government was now ready to deal sternly with those trying to disrupt peace and order.

General Ershad, who seized power in a bloodless coup three years ago, had relaxed martial law gradually to prepare for a transition to democracy, reimposed tight military rule on Friday.

He said that the move was necessary because of repeated rejections by opposition groups of his offer to hold parliamentary elections to restore civil rule. He had now decided to hold a referendum on March 21.

Reuter.

A final decision had yet to be taken, he said, but as this was Japan's first such festival, "it would, of course, be bad if there were any trouble."

Rebels say troops executed in Iran

By Liz Thurgood

Iran has tried and executed 108 soldiers found guilty of deserting, spying for "the enemy," and spreading "counter-revolutionary propaganda," leaving guerrilla sources said in London yesterday.

The claim is based on two government papers, marked "top secret," that the Fajayan-ur-Rah said came into the guerrillas' possession last week from soldiers sympathetic to their Marxist-Leninist cause.

The executions cannot be independently confirmed, but IRAN handed over 27 wounded and disabled Iraqi prisoners of war to Iraqi officials at Ankara airport yesterday.

A Turkish Foreign Ministry statement said that the transfer was handled by the Turkish Red Crescent organisation.

In the second purported paper, the secretary of the supreme council of defence, Mr M. Nazaran, warns the heads of the armed forces, revolutionary guards, gendarmes, and police that the number of deserters has risen to 25,000 since the beginning of the war with Iraq in September 1980. Such an increase "worries us," Mr Nazaran allegedly wrote on October 2.

Scores of Kurdish guerrillas have died recently in a vendetta against the army, by differences. Last week, a left-wing Kurdish Democratic Party raid on a Marxist Komala base at Orman in north-west Iran left 50 Kurds dead. Komala retaliated with an attack on a KDP base at Marivan, killing eight Kurds.

In December, KDP guerrillas killed three Komala rebels in a similar raid, and took 10 prisoners. They were later executed, Komala says.

The KDP leader, Dr Abdorrahman Qassemi, told the French press recently that "50 or so" Kurds had died in "armed confrontations" and massacres in the three months ending in January. Both guerrilla groups were set up by the Iranian government in Tehran for Kurdish autonomy.

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Delhi postpones elections after campaign violence

New Delhi: The chief election officer said yesterday that voting in 11 constituencies, part of polling for state assembly elections, had been postponed until next month because candidates died before the balloting.

Local newspapers have said that 12 candidates were among at least 17 people killed and more than 400 people injured in disturbances before the elections which began with voting on Saturday and will continue tomorrow.

Mr R. Trivedi listed the constituencies where candidates died but did not give details of their deaths. Campaigning went well except for "isolated" incidents of independent candidates being murdered, he said.

The elections of assemblies in a total of 11 states involve almost two-thirds of the electorate. Results are expected to be announced tomorrow, and on Wednesday.

The poll is seen as an important test of popularity for the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, whose Congress (I)

party won a landslide victory in December's general election.

The first round of voting was hit by violence in the eastern state of Bihar, where the United News of India said 20 people were killed and about 1,000 arrested.

The news agency said that security forces seized what it called huge quantities of arms and ammunition and opened fire in at least 100 separate incidents to restore order at Bihar polling booths.

Voting was peaceful in the three other states polling on Saturday, apart from clashes in northern Uttar Pradesh in which seven people were injured, the Press Trust of India news agency said. Turnout was around 50 per cent, the news paper said.

Mr Trivedi, who did not comment on the violence in Bihar, said parliamentary elections which were postponed in December would also be held next month.

The constituency of Deeg in the western state of Rajasthan

is among those where the election to the state assembly was postponed and will be held next month. A week of protests was spat off by the police killing 10 days ago of an independent candidate who had represented the seat since 1982.

On the last day of his barnstorming tour of the country, Mr Gandhi again accused a leading opposition group, the right-wing Bharatiya Janata (Indian People's) Party, of conspiring with Sikh separatists.

He told an election meeting in Himachal Pradesh, in the foothills of the Himalayas, that the party should explain its "links" with Punjab extremists, the BJP has repeatedly denied Mr Gandhi's charge.

Meanwhile, in a statement yesterday, the BJP accused Mr Gandhi's party of fighting the elections with "black or unaccounted money" and demanded a judicial probe into the sources of the Congress party's funds. — AP/Reuter.

Protests keep film out of Tokyo festival

From Robert Whyman in Tokyo

A NEW film about the life and work of the ultranationalist author, Yukio Mishima, is to be dropped from Japan's first big film festival because the organisers fear it is too controversial and may run into trouble, film industry sources said.

The film, *Mishima*, coproduced by Francis Ford Coppola, was due to be shown at the Tokyo International Film Festival this June, following its Cannes premiere. But objections from the widow of Mishima—revered the Emperor and seek a more powerfully armed Japan.

These self-appointed guardians of Mishima's sacred memory threatened death to anyone involved in the shooting

of the Japanese-American co-production last year, claiming it sullies the reputation of the novelist who trained a private army at the embodiment of his ultranationalist and hawkish ideals.

Testifying to the extremists' power to intimidate, Japanese distributors and cinema owners are now nervous about handling the film—there are several precedents for damage to cinema showing films to which the ultraright objected.

The festival supported by the foreign ministry and other government and municipal bodies, runs a risk of sabotage if some of the 120,000 rightwing extremists who flourish here

carry out a threat to stop the film being shown in Japan.

The festival's organising committee refused to confirm that the plan to show *Mishima*, which from all accounts is an artistic tour de force, had been cancelled. But one of the organisers said there was a problem with Mishima's widow, who has apparently not seen the finished film but objects to its portrayal of Mishima's homosexuality and violent suicide.

A final decision had yet to be taken, he said, but as this was Japan's first such festival, "it would, of course, be bad if there were any trouble."

150 من المال

NEWS
IN BRIEFAids test
approved
in US

THE US Government at the weekend announced approval of a controversial new test aimed at preventing transmission of the deadly Aids virus through blood transfusions.

The test for exposure to acquired immune deficiency syndrome could prevent as many as 150 cases of the disease a year, Dr Frank Young, commissioner of the US Food and Drug Administration, told a news conference.

He said that the test should be available in blood banks and private medical laboratories in the next four to six weeks to determine if the blood donor has antibodies against Aids. — Reuters.

Zia swayed

PAKISTAN'S military government has commuted death sentences on three men convicted of aiding a 1981 hijacking but a fourth man is to hang this week. The sentences, which stemmed from the hijack by the outlawed opposition group, Al-Zulfikar, led by two sons of executed former prime minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, aroused international concern when they were announced in November. — Reuters.

Journalist freed

MARTIN Coenen, a Belgian journalist, was freed after a two-day ordeal in a prison in the Democratic Republic of Congo. He was arrested after an international outcry over his arrest. He was freed at a special hearing after being remanded in custody last Wednesday for refusing to divulge the source of a report on chemical pollution. — Reuters.

Script for strike

HOLLYWOOD scriptwriters have voted to strike from midnight tonight in a move that could bring studios to a standstill, the Writers' Guild of America said. The guild says the main dispute is over a demand for a share of royalties from the sale of videos of films and television programmes, an industry which could soon be worth billions. — Reuters.

Killer avalanche

EIGHT people have died in Switzerland's worst avalanche disaster in 15 years and three more are still missing. Police said yesterday that eight bodies were pulled from a car and a small bus buried after the avalanche engulfed a road between Zermatt and Täsch in south-western Switzerland. — Reuters.

Shuttle setback

THE US space agency, Nasa, has called off Thursday's mission by the space shuttle Challenger to the satellite programme and a blow to a French astronaut and a US senator due to be on board. The agency said there were problems in a US satellite to go into orbit. — Reuters.

'God' executed

CHINA has executed two criminals who styled themselves "God" and "The Emperor" and went round rural areas collecting disciples and sexually assaulting women, the China Law Journal reported. — Reuters.

Exercises off

WEST GERMAN exercises with US Pershing-II missiles have been postponed until an inquiry is completed into an accident involving a missile which killed three US soldiers and injured 16.

US rules out any hopes of
new Nicaragua talksContadora
plan revived
in struggle
for peace

By Jonathan Steele

The United States has ruled out any early resumption of talks with Nicaragua, but the Contadora process—Latin America's own effort to bring about peace in Central America—has been revived.

This is the main outcome of a flurry of diplomatic contacts between Latin American leaders and the United States in Montevideo at the weekend after the inauguration of Uruguay's new civilian president, Dr Julio Sanguinetti.

Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega announced the settlement of a dispute over a student who had sought refuge in the Costa Rican embassy in Managua which had led to the suspension of the latest round of Contadora meetings last month. "We have removed the pretext for halting Contadora," Mr Ortega said.

The student, who was arrested near the embassy gates in disputed circumstances, is to be freed this week and flown to Colombia.

Costa Rica, meanwhile, has ordered the expulsion of Adolfo Calero, one of the leaders of the anti-Sandinista contra rebels.

As a result of the deal, which was largely put together by the Colombian President, Mr Belisario Betancur, the five Central American countries are expected to meet the Contadora group in May to try to agree on a new draft of a peace treaty for the region.

Direct talks between the

United States and Nicaragua, however, which were broken off by the United States in January, remain frozen despite of an hour-long meeting between President Ortega and the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, before breakfast on Saturday.

Chances of a breakthrough seemed dim before the meeting in the light of the stepped-up rhetoric against Nicaragua by the Reagan Administration. As the effort to persuade Congress to renew funding for the contras moves into high gear, the Administration clearly feels it would be a contradiction to be negotiating with a government it says it wants to overthrow.

Mr Shultz emerged from the meeting to announce that he had repeated the long-standing American demand that Nicaragua reduce its army with- draw all Soviet and Cuban military advisers, and stop supporting "subversion" in Central America. "I don't know that anything much has changed," he said.

He said Nicaragua's announcement last week that 100 Cuban advisers would go this year raised more questions than it answered. "The question is how many Cubans are there," he asked. US officials claim there are about 8,000 Cuban advisers in Nicaragua, including about 2,500 military advisers.

Mr Ortega said repeated Nicaraguan peace initiatives had fallen on deaf ears in the United States.

Contra ultimatum
covers the cracks

From Paul Ellman in San Salvador

Anti-Sandinista groups have managed a minimal display of unity by issuing a joint ultimatum to the Nicaraguan Government to open a "national dialogue" leading to new elections.

The ultimatum was issued in San Jose, Costa Rica, after a gathering of 21 Nicaraguan opposition leaders. The meeting has infuriated President Luis Alberto Monge and the Costa Rican Government.

The meeting was the outcome of a month of intense efforts to bring the anti-Sandinista forces together in a show of unity sought by the Reagan Administration to bolster its

THE Nicaraguan Government last night firmly rejected any possibility of negotiating with the rebels. Vice-President Sergio Ramirez said the talks demanded in the ultimatum "would achieve nothing."

campaign to secure congressional approval for aid to the Nicaraguan rebels, or Contras. Although they had to call off a press conference they had planned because of pressure from Costa Rica, the rebels managed to distribute a five-page document detailing their demands.

Managua was given until March 20 to accept the dialogue call and was warned that refusal would "put an end to the possibility of a peaceful solution to the national crisis."

Among the items to be treated in the proposed dialogue, according to the document, were the dismantling of "all repressive organisations," including neighbourhood vigilante committees, and the immediate dissolution of the Constituent Assembly elected last November.

The document said that the dialogue should be organised and coordinated by the Roman Catholic Church and should

also involve the other governments of Central America. "This document has not been signed to form an alliance or a military and political structure," said Dr Arturo Cruz, who was briefly last year the presidential candidate of the opposition coalition known as the "Coordinadora Democrática."

The Coordinadora, however, let it be known from Managua that it was not involved in the ultimatum. Equally significant was the absence from the ultimatum of the signatures of Mr Brooklyn Rivera, leader of the Misquito Indian guerrilla alliance known as the Miskito, which operates in Nicaragua's Atlantic littoral, and that of Mr Eden Pastora, the Sandinista dissident who runs his own insurgent force in southern Nicaragua.

The document was signed by Mr Adolfo Calero, head of the biggest anti-Sandinista guerrilla group, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), which operates from bases in Honduras.

If for no other reason, Managua is likely to reject the ultimatum because of the FDN involvement. The group relies heavily upon former members of the Nicaraguan National Guard which propped up the Somoza dictatorship. The ultimatum falls far short of what Washington hoped would turn into a formal alliance of groups opposed to the Sandinista Government. The White House had hoped to be able to demonstrate to Congress that the anti-Sandinista forces had buried their differences.

Mr Reagan has been trying to secure congressional approval for \$14 million in aid to the rebels.

The failure of the rebels to agree to little more than a common set of goals, is expected to lead to an early resumption of talks between Managua and Washington, suspended by the US in January.



Uruguay celebrates: The presidents of Nicaragua, Mr Daniel Ortega (left), Mr Belisario Betancur of Colombia (centre) and Mr Raul Alfonsín of Argentina (right) chat briefly before President Sanguinetti (far right) calls for Latin American integration at his swearing-in ceremony

Uruguay celebrates Sanguinetti triumph

Political prisoners' release masks problems of military cutbacks and economic recovery

By Malcolm Coad

The newly sworn-in President, Mr Julio Sanguinetti, moved abruptly at the weekend to restore his country's political freedoms as Uruguayans celebrated his installation with street demonstrations and open-air concerts.

Mr Sanguinetti, of the Centrist Colorado Party, was elected in November after the 11-year-old military regime disintegrated in the face of opposition protest.

Within hours of Friday's swearing-in, leftwing groups, such as the Communist party and the 26 March Movement—the political successors to the pre-coup Tupamaros guerrillas, who have now laid down their arms—were legalised.

Some 4,000 members of these groups were banned from voting in November's elections under the pact with the military which allowed the poll to go ahead.

Also legalised were the pre-coup trade union confederation, the National Workers' Convention, the Federation of University Students, the Peace and Justice Service, Human Rights Organisation, and the country's leading theatre company, El Galpon, which was exiled by the military.

President Sanguinetti also restored diplomatic relations with Venezuela, which were broken off in 1976 when armed government agents dragged a woman claiming asylum out of Venezuela's embassy in Montevideo. Diplomatic ties with Cuba are likely to follow, and eventually with China.

With such uncontroversial measures under his belt, however, Mr Sanguinetti now faces a succession of far tougher problems, almost any of which could threaten the country's

will for consensus, or bring back the military. No one believes that the armed forces are anxious to return, but the army commander, General Hugo Medina, made his position clear only days ago by saying that if social tensions such as those in 1973 were repeated the military would "have no alternative but to repeat the coup."

Such threats may now cost General Medina his post, as the Government tackles one of its thorniest problems, the military itself. No plans have been announced, but the Defence Minister, Mr Juan Vicente Chiarini (leader of the small conservative Catholic party, the Civic Union and one of three ministers drawn from outside the Colorado), said at the weekend that "modifications" of the high command were necessary, as well as an "appreciable" cut

"If the military think they can continue with their old prerogatives, they are fundamentally mistaken," he said. More of a problem for the Government, however, will be the fate of remaining political prisoners. This caused ructions within minutes of Parliament's first session on February 15, when the populist National, or Blanco, Party (which has two ministers in the Cabinet) and the leftwing Broad Front coalition won a motion calling for a general release.

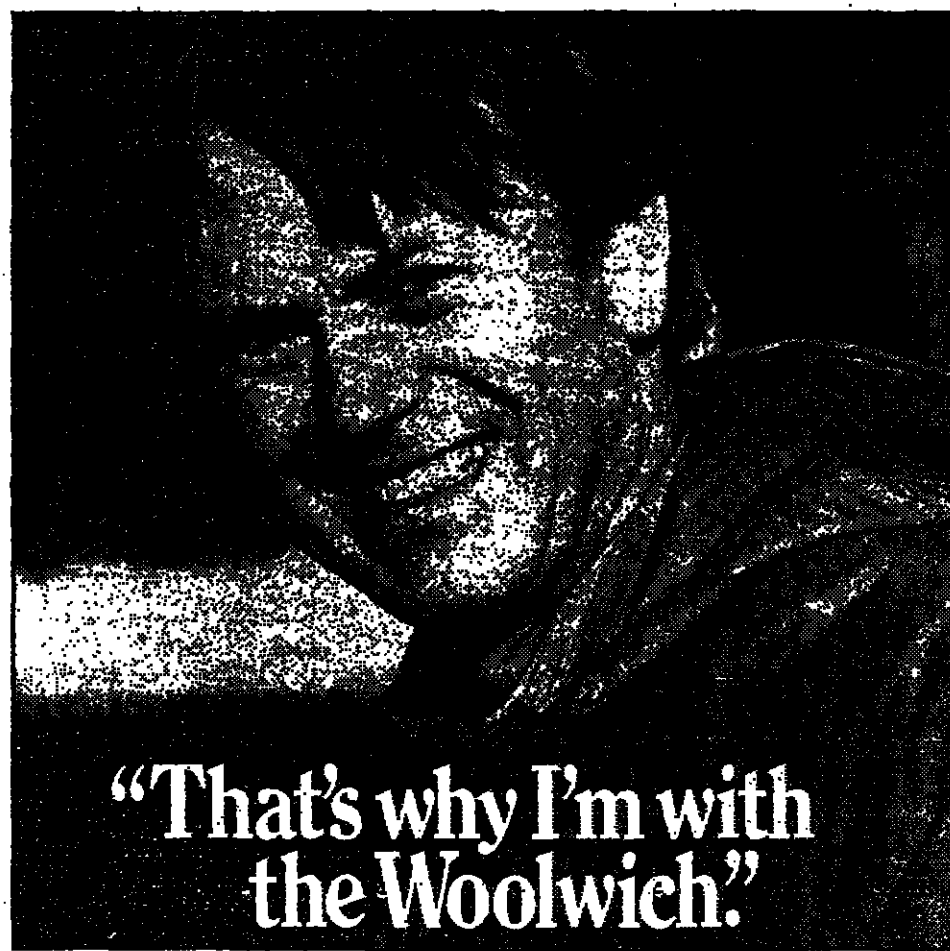
President Sanguinetti is sceptical about his economic programme. So far, there is agreement among the parties on the principles of wage and pension rises, an improved housing programme, and increases in health and education budgets. But union leaders say that unless these pledges are strictly held to, "the workers will be ready to fight to achieve these minimum needs."

meant with extreme neo-liberalism has left industry shattered, unemployment and underemployment at 30 per cent, wages at 47 per cent of their real pre-coup value, and a much inflated foreign debt of \$5.5 billion. In his swearing-in speech, Mr Sanguinetti emphasised that the foreign debt cannot be serviced this year, and called for "comprehension at home and abroad." The unions, the Blancos, and the Broad Front are extremely sceptical about his economic programme.

So far, there is agreement among the parties on the principles of wage and pension rises, an improved housing programme, and increases in health and education budgets. But union leaders say that unless these pledges are strictly held to, "the workers will be ready to fight to achieve these minimum needs."

Government, however, is the economy. The military's experi-

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FBI rounds up neo-Nazi gang
on murder, robbery charges

From Alex Brummer in Washington

Federal agents have made a series of arrests in seven states which, they hope, will bring an end to a wave of armed robberies, attacks on federal officials, and other crimes, including murder, carried out by a shadowy neo-Nazi group calling itself The Order or the Silent Brotherhood.

The most publicised crime allegedly carried out by the group and ringed by the murder of Mr Alan Berg, host of a Denver radio phone-in show, who was gunned down outside his home last June. It was believed at first that Mr Berg had been killed by an angry caller, but later by some of his comments.

But investigators looking into a series of armed robberies which netted some \$4 million have linked Mr Berg's murder to the Silent Brotherhood and its plans to build a large fund for "wage war" against the US Government

which, the Brotherhood asserts, has been taken over by Jews.

Federal agents have now arrested more than 20 suspects thought to be the ring leaders of the Silent Brotherhood. According to the accounts of the investigators, at least four members of the Brotherhood took part in the murder of Mr Berg.

The authorities are seeking to confirm links between the group and a number of other active fringe rightwing groups in the US, including the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazis. Details of the connection between these groups have been disclosed in testimony before a grand jury in Seattle.

Among those called before the Seattle jury, according to police sources quoted yesterday in the New York Times, was Mr Richard Girnt Butler, aged 65, head of the Aryan Nations - a large neo-Nazi group based in Hayden Lake, Idaho. The paper reported that Mr Butler had been questioned about the relationship between

some Aryan Nations members who have been arrested in connection with robberies and other crimes carried out by the Order/Brotherhood.

Mr Butler reportedly described several of the indicted men, including the late Mr Robert Matthews, aged 31, the founder of the order, as heroes. Mr Matthews died on December 8, 1984, when the FBI dropped a flare from a helicopter on a house in which he was hiding. Mr Matthews had earlier shot at federal officers who had surrounded the house.

While the Berg case and the confrontation with Matthews made the national news, it was not until recently that it became known that these cases and several others were apparently linked through the Order/Brotherhood. Among other crimes allegedly carried out by the group was an armed robbery of a security van in Ukiah, California, last June when a dozen men, armed with automatic weapons, surrounded a truck from which they stole some \$3.6 million.

Discussions to include Geneva arms negotiations and detente

Genscher in Moscow for talks with Gromyko

Bonn: Foreign Minister, Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, flew to Moscow yesterday for his first arranged talks with his Soviet counterpart, Mr. Andrei Gromyko.

The Foreign Ministry announced that Mr. Genscher would meet Mr. Gromyko today and stay in the Soviet capital for less than 24 hours. After a stop in Finland, he will also make a previously unscheduled trip to Warsaw on Wednesday.

The statement gave no other details, but diplomatic sources said that Mr. Genscher would discuss the forthcoming US-Soviet arms talks in Geneva at his meeting with Mr. Gromyko and examine ways of reviving East-West detente.

They said that Mr. Genscher's chief aim was to press Bonn's view that all European states should become involved in a new drive to improve East-West relations and that this should not be left exclusively to the two superpowers.

Mr. Genscher would also urge Moscow to avoid reviving animosities between the Soviet Union and West Germany in the run-up to the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War on May 8.

The sources said: Mr. Genscher would meet the Polish leader, General Jaruzelski during a six-hour stopover in Warsaw aimed at working out a programme for a postponed official visit.

The West German minister called off a trip to Poland in November at the last minute after Warsaw objected to his plans to visit the grave of murdered priest, Jerzy Popieluszko. The dispute badly strained relations between the two countries.

Both the Moscow and Warsaw trips were said to have been worked out in a rush over the past few days after informal contacts showed that the two Communist countries were interested in an early meeting with Mr. Genscher.

The sources could not say which side had made the first move, but Mr. Genscher has made clear for some time his eagerness to step up direct contacts with Soviet bloc leaders.

The East German and Bulgarian leaders called off proposed visits in the wake of a fierce Soviet media campaign accusing Bonn of trying to regain former German territories lost to Poland and Russia after the war.

Mr. Genscher's itinerary this week takes him to four countries. He will travel from Moscow to Finland tomorrow evening to join President Richard von Weizsäcker for an official visit. After flying from Helsinki to Warsaw on Wednesday he will leave the same day for Bulgaria.

The sources said that Mr. Genscher would tell Mr. Gromyko that Bonn and other West European countries had an intense interest in rapid and constructive results at the US-Soviet arms talks starting in Geneva on March 12.

He would discuss the issue of space weapons, which Moscow regards as the main item on the Geneva agenda, but also stress that the West Europeans were keen to see fast progress towards an accord limiting medium-range nuclear missiles, they said.—Reuter.

Warsaw: The leader of Solidarity, Mr. Lech Walesa, said yesterday that he would join in protests today at Gdansk shipyard where he works if the labour force wanted to demonstrate its discontent with food price increases.

Rises ordered by the authorities in the cost of many staple foods including bread, dairy products, and tea will take effect this morning in the first of three phases of increases.

The banned union called off a 15-minute general strike last Thursday but claimed that workers in a number of factories, angered by the prospect of a further fall in living standards, went ahead with stoppages in defiance of a warning that strikers risked being sacked on the spot.

The authorities have strongly defended the increases which they said emerged from a compromise with officially-registered trade unions which have enrolled five million members since Solidarity was suppressed under martial law in 1981.

Mr. Walesa said that the Solidarity leadership wanted rank-and-file militants to organise any protests today and added: "If a true impression is to be gained of how working people feel about the state of things, it must originate from the factory floor."

The increases are the first since February, 1984. The government has plans to impose an unpopular across-the-board increase last March under pressure from the legal trade unions, which condemned them as inflationary.

The new proposals include sharp increases in pensions and family allowances to cushion the impact of the increases on the old and the low paid.

The Trade Unions Minister, Mr. Stanislaw Ciosek, defended the authorities on television at the weekend that the Government had made a "major step to meet the unions half way."

The Government has not so far indicated the effect the increases will have on the cost of living but is committed to holding the growth in prices this year to 13 per cent.—Reuter.

Guerrillas claim link

ATHENS: Police yesterday said that the Greek guerrilla group claim to have links with West European extreme leftwingers.

The group claimed responsibility for a Saturday morning planting a half-pound time bomb outside the West German embassy. The bomb, packed into a cardboard box with a bottle of gas, would have caused serious damage had it exploded.

In a 1,000-word statement, the hitherto unknown movement, Revolutionary Group of International Solidarity, also protested against the treatment of guerrillas in West German jails.

Police said that they were paying particular attention to part of the statement which proclaimed "the unification of our forces" with three guerrilla groups — West Germany's Red Army Faction, France's Action Directe, and Belgium's Fighting Communist Cells.

The Red Army Faction and Action Directe announced plans last month to join forces against NATO. The German group claimed responsibility for shooting an arms industrialist, while Action Directe said that it killed a leading French arms official.

The Greek group appeared from its statement to be close ideologically to the Group of Popular and Revolutionary Solidarity which claimed a bomb attack that injured a Saudi diplomat here in April, 1983.—Reuter.

Armenians sentenced

Creteil, France: A jury here took eight hours last week to convict three Armenian militants of the bombing that killed eight and injured 54 at Orly airport in July, 1983.

The court handed down sentences ranging from life to 10 years in prison. According to the charges, Varoujan Garibedian, aged 31, was the mastermind of the bombing and the man who gave an explosive-filled suitcase to a passenger at the Turkish airlines counter at the south terminal of the airport. Soner Nayir, aged 24, was accused of making the bomb and Ohannes Semerli, aged 24, as an accomplice.

Garibedian was sentenced to life, the maximum penalty under French law. Nayir was given a 15-year prison term and Semerli was sentenced to 10 years.

Surprise witnesses were presented by the State on Saturday to claim to have seen "three bizarre" men in the airport just before the explosion. In the end, however, they were not able to identify any of the accused as the men they had seen.

Mr. Jacques Verges, defence attorney for Garibedian, urged the jury in his final argument to judge the defendants "as a man and not as a symbol that one condemns as an example."

Garibedian had admitted being a member of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, but after initially confessing to police that he was responsible for the bombing, he retracted his statements.—AP.

MOTERING GUARDIAN

Monday March 4 1985

YEAR by year they all go through the motions. The "Motoring Organisation" put their submissions on our behalf — that is Britain's 28 million drivers and motor-cyclists — to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in an attempt to influence his Budget thinking. And, after a decade of observing motoring affairs, I have to conclude that not a single word will have the slightest influence upon what Mr. Lawson, in his guided wisdom, will produce in that late Tuesday afternoon not so far off.

Like tobacco and alcohol, motorists are the milch cow for government gleaning; whatever else a car owner will find money for, a motorist will find money for petrol. The balance of disposable income is almost certainly a personal matter, but the Government will make certain that it gets the first bite.

The £2 a gallon barrier clearly looms but, says Jack Williams of the Royal Automobile Club, the oil companies and the Government are running neck and neck in a race that neither should be proud to win. To keep pace with inflation, the RAC suggests that petrol would cost an additional 4p a gallon and that there would be over £4 on vehicle excise duty for cars.

Due to the falling pound and the continuing pressure for higher prices by the oil companies, it cannot be long before petrol prices rocket through the £2 a gallon barrier. The addition to the tax on motor fuel last year raised the tax ingredient to more than £1 a gallon and income from motoring taxation now exceeds £10,000 million a year with only about 30 per cent of this being spent for purposes directly benefiting road transport users.

At present, the average family motorist is paying about £550 a year — more than £10 a week — in taxes directly related to his motor car. It is a burden that the RAC claims encourages "marginal motorists" to cut costs on servicing and maintenance with consequent adverse effects on road safety. Further increases in taxation will only worsen this situation.

The RAC argues that, in real terms, the amount of money spent on roads is about 40 per cent lower than it was ten years ago and contends that increases in road expenditure would create more jobs, not merely from the construction works but also from the various supporting industries supplying material and equipment. In addition, industrial road users would benefit from reduced costs and greater efficiency and there would also be a boost to tourism.

The Automobile Association, which with its five million plus membership is clearly the world's largest motoring organisation, fiercely attacks suggestions that vehicle excise duty should be replaced by an increased tax on petrol: it would, says the AA, make the average motorist covering 6,500 miles annually about £19 a year worse off. In fact, according to the AA's calculations, anyone driving more than 6,800 miles a year would be out of pocket.

"Increases in prices inflict considerable costs that directly or indirectly affect all groups adding to inflationary pressures... bearing in mind the concern of the motoring public at the cost of petrol, it is a burden that can only be transferred by increasing vehicle excise duty to petrol duty can only result in even greater concern, particularly with the realisation that many would in fact be paying more tax than under the present system."

Those who have to travel to work by car, those who live in rural areas, and high mileage users would pay a great deal more tax — especially when one takes into account the continuing need for a form of registration of vehicles which would presumably require a fee to be paid.

Such a radical change is far less justifiable, contends the AA, in the light of the fact that the level of vehicle excise duty evasion at £20 million this financial year is significantly lower than initial government estimates.

"Evolution cannot, of course, be ignored," says the AA, "and this problem should be tackled by making the fullest use of the capabilities of the driver and Vehicle Licensing Centre at Swansea to identify the owners of vehicles that are not currently licensed."

It should not be tackled by imposing higher taxes upon the law-abiding majority. The Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders has come up with its own "come up with a plan" message to the Chancellor stressing the need for low interest rates, a complete and gradual abolition of car tax, and a request that any increase in taxation on company car benefit should be restricted to predicted levels of general inflation.

The industry forecast is that unless there is a change in government policy, the new car market this year will fall from the 1.75 million of 1984 to 1.72 million but with an expected increase in exports, total car production in the UK is estimated to remain at one million over the next two years.

The SMMT says that UK vehicle manufacturers have made heavy investments in new technology and modernisation which has led to improved productivity at a time when profitability is being undermined by severe price competition, a falling market, and overcapacity within the industry. The Government should, it argues, be seen to encourage the industry by taking action in the areas outlined. Removing the special car tax — which accounts for 7.7 per cent of a car's inclusive list price — is overdue versions tend to have higher cc ratings than their petrol equivalents.

This means that employers seeking to institute such a change naturally meet resistance from the employees concerned since their tax liability would increase. The FTA says that it is simple and obvious that the tax scales should have different ratings for petrol and diesel engines. "That seems to me to make sense."

When the rich or very rich go to buy a BMW

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Output is limited to about 500 a year but Syner of Nottingham have wrested a concession to produce cars to the same specification for sale in UK. You can pay more than £22,000 for one of these models and the insurance costs are horrendous but there could be more than one hundred people here with funds to indulge themselves in that style of motoring. They are probably right.

ROY HARRY records the annual Budget fears of 28 million motorists

Closing the £2 barrier

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How to avoid getting stuck in the wrong career.

You start at a disadvantage.

Aged 21, or younger, you are expected to pick a career that will shape the rest of your life.

How unreasonable.

After all, would you marry a girl you'd never met? Or buy a house you'd never seen?

It's just as foolish to plunge into a career you know nothing about.

There's not much point in discovering, halfway up the ladder in, say, banking, that you'd rather be making documentary films.

Or serving abroad with the Foreign Office.

Ten years hence, you'll probably have a mortgage and a young family.

It will be, in the words of the song, much too late for goodbye.

First, find out what you're good at.

Ideally, you wouldn't specialise straightaway.

You'd spend your first few years exploring different jobs.

Finding out what excites and what bores you. What you're good at and what you should definitely avoid. (As Somerset Maugham said, only the mediocre are always at their best.)

Above all, you'd discover what you most enjoy doing. Then you'd stick at it.

Unfortunately, with three million out of work, nobody can afford to flit from job to job.

Yet there is no single career that can give you the variety of work experience you need.

Or is there?

We'll coax your talents out of hiding.

As well as soldiering, an Army Officer can find himself tackling unusual jobs.

Making documentary films. Serving with the Foreign Office. Training to be an astronaut. Practising law. Writing books and magazine articles. Leading an Himalayan expedition. Solving land disputes. Teaching degree courses. Conserving wildlife in the Antarctic. Acting as equerries to the Royal Family. Organising disaster relief. Devising computer programs. Building bridges and airfields. Underwater archaeological exploration.

The list could go on to fill the rest of this page.

Think about it. What other career could allow you to develop in so many different directions?

Broadening the mind.

Our work takes us all over the world. Places like Berlin and Hong Kong could be familiar territory.

You would live and work in them, not just visit as a tourist.

But don't expect life to be one long holiday.

You might well serve in Northern Ireland. Or on the tense East/West German border.

We may send you to the snake-infested jungles of Belize. (You'll need a machete and your wits about you.)

Picture yourself trekking out of Kathmandu to pay pensions to retired Gurkha warriors.

Officers serving with the Gurkhas must speak Gurkhal. So we'd teach you.

We could also teach you Arabic, Chinese, German, Russian, Spanish and Swahili. (Not to mention quite a few computer languages.)

Room at the top.

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So if, after three, five or eight years, you leave us, you will have impeccable credentials.

And a very clear idea of how you want your career to develop.

An advertisement can only begin to touch on the huge variety of an Army Officer's work.

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Army Officer

By then the very smell of ambiguity was in the air. The look that young women bought in the High Street was the look of a girl called Charlie

"DO YOU want a fair deal?" asked Shirley Conran, not yet Superwoman but heading that way from the magazine pages on The Face of the Seventies. Well, who wouldn't? And never before, perhaps, had it seemed nearer our grasp.

Not since the war years had public images of women seemed as varied and as strong as they seemed, briefly, then. "Anything goes!" was Woman's Own's answer to the still-asked questions about how far one should, urging readers to make their own choices. And possible that seemed in 1971, when the pill was plentiful and not yet fear-filled, when even the women's institute cast off their ban on topics political to call for free contraception. It was a time for the tumbling of other taboos, when the magazine could ask, "Do you like your children?" and so open the way for confessions hitherto repressed. A time when "Take control" was the problem page's brisk advice to the woman who complained that her husband kept her in servitude.

Fashion brought up its reinforcements, in its images of the 40s femme fatale revived, of the "college girl" preparing for the future of the "tailored look" that went with the promise of the brand new Equal Pay Act. There was femininity for fun, too, and maybe different looks on the same day, for all it took to change your whole personality then — or so the advertisements would have it — was to reach out for a change of wig and eyelashes.

But into that confidence of a new decade another image had been dropped, one which was to become the most powerful of all: the image of woman as castrate. The Female as Eunuch. "We know what we are, but know not what we may be or what we might have been," cried Germaine Greer, as she took the familiar images apart to reveal a shell called "feminine" from which all power and energy and will had been sucked. And in her urgency and rage and call for joy in the revolution, she sowed a seed of doubt that fell in ground so fertile that those images of confidence seemed like no more than part of the machinery of castration.

Soon it appeared that there was hardly an image of themselves about which women could claim without compromise — for if each was created not for women by women but at best by eunuchs for their kind and most likely by men for themselves, then which one could be trusted as a model? And for those who resisted the notion that women were nothing but what their manipulators had made them — how I did myself: there was a woman called "feminine" internalised oppression, and that meant that no perception was safe at all: for how was anyone then to know what was her own

and what had been conned into her to serve the patriarchy?

So then there was no escaping the second of feminism's great waves — at its crest no longer, as Germaine Greer had foretold it, gentle middle-class women clamouring for reform, but ungenteel middle-class women calling for revolution. The image of Virago (ferment, turbulent woman, archaically "of masculine strength or spirit") was one that women took to themselves and the gentlest expression became fashion's own: ethnic prints and Afro hairstyles to proclaim a sorority that stretched across the oceans and between the races.

But mostly there was confusion and anger and everywhere, it seemed to eyes new-washed, the images that confirmed the critique of woman's condition. When the rising Sun celebrated its first birthday at the start of the decade by ripping the shirts from the Page Three bodies where nipples had simply peeped before, the sales graph said that this was a pretty good idea. When women in the real world started to bare their own breasts to public gaze, the world said that this was a pretty bad one, so far from beautiful, or tender, or even sensible and practical had the image of woman sucking her child become.

But where was the positive image of motherhood then? The number of abortions rose from 20,000 at the decade's start to 121,000 at its end, as the number of teenage marriages among women almost halved. Women, who had small children went back to work earlier and earlier until they were doing two jobs. But they met little approval for that, either, as Germaine Greer's image of a joyous community of cooperation for child-rearing remained mostly just that and the very words "working mother" became for many a sort of synonym for guilt and exhaustion.

Not by mere coincidence, perhaps, did the woman who was to become the most powerful of all at the decade's end begin it by a public act so anti-maternal in its symbolism that she was known as Milk Snatcher when she took the stuff away from the children at school. Seven years on, the movie that drew the crowds was the one that undermined the impossibility of woman as seeker for her own expression and woman as mother. When the chips were down in Kramer vs. Kramer, the only good mother turned out to be a man.

And it was not to the movies either that women could turn for images of the strength to which they had been called. From this distance the British film industry looks to have taken one prophetic look at what was on the way and planned its escape. Never since the turbulence of the immediate

post-war years had there been such a plethora of costume dramas, as was now beamed out. If images of strong women there were, these were safely in the past: in 1971 alone, Vanessa Redgrave and Glenda Jackson (for neither of whom perhaps, is enough the first epithet that springs to mind) battled it out as Mary of Scots and Elizabeth I, jostling for screen time with young Lady Macbeth and Julie Christie pursuing her sexual independence in the safely Edwardian haze of the Go-Between.

There were other cinematic escape routes. The movie-makers took us back to worlds of masculine certainties: to that of Cromwell at the decade's start, to that of Young Winston, and up Buchanan's Thirty-Nine Steps at its end. They took us into worlds of innocence and childhood: to that of The Railway Children, of Beatrix Potter, of Alice, of Watership Down. They gave us Agatha Christie, lavishly. But when they gave us an image of contemporary woman, then they gave us an image of confusion.

If there was little to find of positive images for motherhood, if there was little of strength for today, then there was little joy in sexuality either. Germaine Greer's plea had been for sex as "a form

of communication between potent, gentle, tender people" — and that, she had said, cannot be accomplished by denial of heterosexual contact. The majority surely agreed with her, for if petitions for divorce continued to rise, from 110,000 at the decade's start to 180,000 at its end, women and men still married and married again, and the number of couples who lived together before they did it at all rose from 8 per cent to something like a quarter.

Back at the movies, though, it was not their lives that were mirrored. At the start of the decade, in the year that the Gay Liberation Movement published the manifesto that was to launch one of the more significant social movements of the times, Glenda Jackson synchronously found, on Sunday Bloody Sunday, that she was the least free of the participants in her polymorphous triangle. And how much better did she find things in A Touch of Class? The actress got an Oscar, but the character she played found that however joyfully affairs with married men may develop, there is only one time honoured and sorrowful way in which they end.

Across the Atlantic the message echoed back. "I'm in control!" declared Jane Fonda, herself no mean example of the new woman

these days. But when she said it, it was as Bree in the hugely successful Kluge: she was the successful prostitute who used her sex against the punters she despised and, of course, it wasn't really true at all, in bond as she was to her analyst and her pursuer. And who was the man who came to her rescue but the very model of patriarchy's power: a cop. The schoolteacher who claimed sexual freedom hitherto seen as man's alone, trawling for pick-ups as she went Looking for Mr. Goodbar, wasn't so lucky: she got murdered.

Where, by then, were the images of that potent tender gentle heterosexuality? Such violence there was then that one study of images of women on the screen from their beginnings was bluntly called From Reverence to Rape (Molly Haskell, New English Library, 1974). From The Clockwork Orange and Straw Dogs, through The Brute and the Bloodline, Steady, The Getaway — violence from the start of the decade to its end and beyond, even though by then there was research to show that men's attitudes to women were indeed affected by the films they watched.

By 1979, when 300 men were imprisoned for rape and that was only in a quarter of cases of sexual assault recorded let alone

those that weren't, when the National Women's Aid Federation was into its third year of struggling to fund those overcrowded refuges from violence, even the law seemed helpless in face of the domestic batterings that made up no less than a quarter of all violent crime.

Where, then, were women to turn for positive images of themselves? The sight of women talking together has always made men uneasy, nowadays it means rank subversion. Right on! was the way that Germaine Greer had seen it. But maybe that was the voice of the chippier sixties, of the good old days when even Mary McCarthy's novel The Group had been had for obscenity though that, admittedly, was in New Zealand.

The first national meeting of lesbians back home was in 1974, the year that Molly Haskell summed up the predominant image of lesbianism in the movies as "something provisional and incomplete," featuring "attractive women who cater to male fantasies... and who seem merely to be waiting for the 'right man' to come along." By the decade's end, some women were declaring their lesbianism not simply as a matter of sexual preference but as a political necessity. Meantime, the heterosexual

THE CHANGING IMAGE IV:
In the fourth part of her series on how women have shaped the decades since the war, Ann Shearer looks at the Seventies



Illustration by Peter Clarke

world in which the majority was urged to search and ponder the nature of sex and gender, of male and female, of masculine and feminine, had seen its changes too. The couples whose low-sharing lifestyles were chronicled in Woman's Own by mid-decade may not have been homosexual; but they were as often unmarried as wed and the bisexuality of stars like David and Angie Bowie made that not just another option but almost the most glamorous of all. By then the very smell of ambiguity was in the air. The look that young women bought in the High Street, the scent, the pots, the powders that offered the image of young, be-tousled confidence in the most successful sales pitch of all, was the look of a girl called Charlie.

But if that was the look that young women still wanted for themselves by the time the decade was growing old, there was another, harsher image of youth altogether to contend with. In their self-mutilations, their deliberate uglifications, their pins and their chains, those first young punks spewed their disgust at the society in which they found themselves. Yet the essence of the image they threw in the face of the world was one of bondage of men and women both being drawn to other, to their image of themselves, and disgust at what they saw. What does that say about the deeper, darker currents of the decade's angers and confusions?

And how much nearer resolution were they as it came to its end? By then, it was indeed a woman who had won the top job her country could offer and very Virago she was — "of masculine strength and spirit." But to many women, that was a matter of concern. By then, their unemployment rate had doubled, and that concerned them too. But a higher force than even she was evoked against their complaints — for as the then Minister of Health quite frankly said, the Good Lord would not have created man and woman as He had, had He intended them to have equal rights to go out to work.

By then again, though, the scientists were beginning to challenge even that hitherto highest authority in His orderings. The first test-tube baby had been born and very soon there was to be a bewildering of images of reproduction that might, who knows, one day dispense with wombs altogether. And many women were to find in that, for the first time, a way to worry about. Not surprising, perhaps, that as young women turned their faces to the decade ahead, the image they reached for more than any other of its sort was the one that came in the spray and the bottles and the pots that promised to turn them into a person called Charlie.



In the Toy Department, besides dolls and little plastic men, covered in weaponry, there are lots & lots of furry animals...



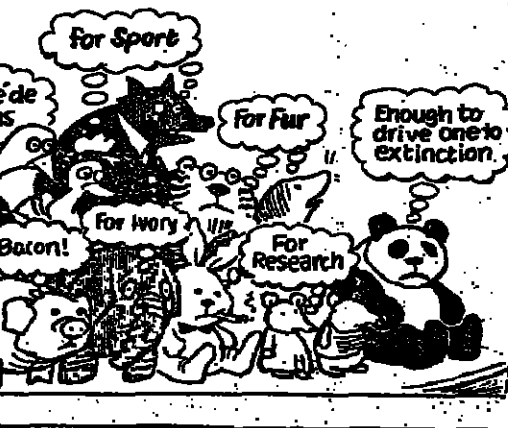
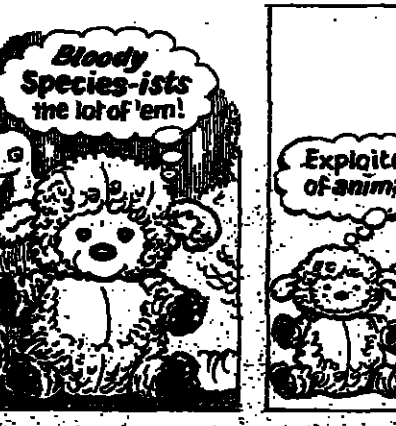
...There are teddies and pandas and woolly woofs and pussycats...



...bunny-wunnies and chick-chicks and quack-quacks and goosy-ganders... and faties and jumbos and oink-oinks...



...All of whom, as representatives of the Animal Kingdom, are absolutely exempt from the back teeth with the Human Race.



Vanity Fair

EDUCATION Minister came fearlessly to Liberton last week and spoke to our sixth-formers, to help them to understand the world and how it has come to its present sorry state.

He painted a grim picture of education today. "Children go to school at five, bright-eyed," said Minister in a weak and broken bark, "and leave at six, disillusioned, sad and very old."

He told the students whose fault it was — parents, teachers, the culture of our time, the curriculum, the exam-system. "Is that provocation enough for you?" cried he and smirked, red-faced and bold, ready for the first question. He could take anything. "You are here voluntarily, are you not?" asked Minister, goading away. "You have a choice?"

Students grumbled about the choice, this or unemployment. But Minister had an answer to the problem of unemployment. There was "more in the North than the South," he explained clearly. "Where do jobs come from? Where do the Employers get their money?" cried Minister provocatively.

"From the sweat of the working class," shouted a Radical Girl at the back. Minister remained calm and explained things again. It all rests upon a Healthy Trading Base. Jobs come from customers, the Minister, and described France, a paradise across the Channel, with better services, better pensions, where Trade Unions did as they were told, and why? Because the Socialists had realised all their ways, reversed course quickly and followed Mrs Thatcher.

Students laughed abusively. It was the Truth, said Minister. He never told lies, always admitted when he was wrong and sympathised pas-

sionately with those struggling in our schools. Minister managed not to cry. Had spent millions of the taxpayers' money trying his very best to unlock the abilities of the least talented, all to no avail, and as for the most talented, he had not enough Stretching and Exacting schools for them.

It wasn't the answer to pour more money into the comprehensive. It was the answer to pour money into the Public Schools. That's why Minister had created the Assisted Places Scheme so that the Very Bright could attend them.

There were lots of very bright questions, but Minister couldn't hear. "Can you hear anything so terrible about standing?" For a moment Minister became peevish and crotchety, perhaps remembering times gone by, when pupils were stretched and stood up smartly for Ministers. He heard a question in the end. Why were there fewer places in Higher Education?

It was an easy one. "That is not true," said Minister firmly and truthfully. "There may be less at Universities, but there are more at Polytechnics. And don't be snobbish about it."

"I don't think you fully understand," said he, "what a Puckle we're in as a country. His honesty impelled him to bare his worries to the emotional and articulate teenagers. "We've made such a muddle," he croaked, and more Truth came blurring out. "Politicians need to be loved," said he, smiling shyly. It showed students that Minister is only following orders. Underneath lies a real human-being. Meanwhile, he would look for savings in school meals, cleaning, and energy.

"That would be a good start," said Minister, pulling himself together again.

Michele Hanson

Nancy Banks-Smith
on Space Station
Milton Keynes

Bucks fizz

COACH trips regularly go to Milton Keynes where everything has been designed for shopping as it should be. But they never mention coming back. I find that ominous. Do you know anyone who has been to Milton Keynes? Well then.

This satellite town, renowned for its concrete cows, has found its laureate in Leslie Stewart. "It's a city of glass. There are trees and flowers from all over the world. And marble. Acres of it. And, in a field, there are cows as still as statues and a tractor that never bats an eyelid. Dr Who... Star Trek... Milton Keynes... next stop the planet Krypton. As the title suggests, Sunshine, girl who is fostered there, sees it as another world. Aerial, light, remote, floating. A place for flight.

In this Screen Two play it looks like a vast child's toy. There are things like extending sugar tongs to reach the ceiling of the shopping centre and a fountain with what seems to be a fish bone on it. It looks as if it were designed by someone with a sense of humour. But I'm not sure why that makes me feel slightly nervous. Like all modern architecture it looks nice at night, like a page of bright dots waiting to be joined up. But at dawn the splendour falls on solar-heated houses and glids the buttocks of the happy Milton Keynesians lying there. Using Milton Keynes as a space playground was a vivid and evocative idea. All we needed now was a play.

Sunshine was originally a boy but Penny Murray, who lives in Milton Keynes, was such an exceptionally self-possessed and sensitive little girl that the play was rewritten around her. Though not, I think, rewritten enough. The Superman story ("you are a warrior of the lost tribe") no longer fits nor does the Icarus legend, nor the love of rockets and jet planes nor the way she speaks and is spoken to. All these things are turbulence and don't make for a fluent flight.

Whether in the end Sunshine, ascending on a sugar tong, falls or flies or dies and flies is a matter of opinion. I would say, like the play, she takes off brilliantly and, one way or another, makes an impact.

Phil Drabble has the engaging habit of inventing words as he goes along. Contraptions and chubbled. Contraptions seems a remote relation, or as Alan Plater puzzlingly put it in Miss Marple, "a distant piece" of contraptions. Sophisticated suggests a rather antique polish like those legs Arthur Negus is always running his hands over admiringly. And chubbled—as "he chubbled this lively little owl up for supper."

Favourite Things (BBC2) filmed Drabble on his 90-acre estate among his geese and pigs and wild white-bellied fawn, all of which he would unhesitatingly eat. "I'm a pretty practical countryman. They have lived naturally and died suddenly and I see no harm in eating them as a reward for that. There is," he added, his eye "roasting," "no sweeter picture than a piece of home-cured loin." These things are a great shock and the system of a town dweller.

For a while his turn of phrase—"I like to take Jeff with me and go to a really good musical. He had her for a long time. She's been a favourite thing for 65 years"—led me to suppose Jeff was a particularly long-lived bitch with an ear for light music. But it turned out to be Mr Drabble.

On The South Bank Show (LWT) Little Richard gave a performance of such showbiz glitter, so flaunting and funny, that the Dame Edna look-alike, "I created rock 'n' roll and I didn't even know what I was doing... sex is like smorgasbord, you should pick what you want if you keep cocaine. You are going to have company all the time... everybody likes to go to orgies... Jesus stood in front of the tomb and said, 'I come forth little Richard, I was dead and I'm alive.' I'd seen nothing like it since Mohammed Ali."

On The Miners' Strike (Central) at the very moment when Arthur Scargill was holding up a piece of paper and asking "Are you prepared to settle on television in its entirety with the NUM? If so I'll accept," and Michael Eaton was answering "You... you... you..." we were switched over to anti-periphrastics and extra strong mints and then to a strong week-end, heavy section, Bob Southgate, Central's director of news and current affairs, said he would have liked to continue, but it wasn't possible, technically. He was, in any case, over-running. In the corner of the screen was the cue dot indicating they were into injury time.

It was ludicrous. Something of the sort might have been anticipated and allowed for. It was also rather odd. Mr Scargill, who could count, had hung on too long and left it a few minutes too late.

The arts are facing a cash crisis: Nicholas Payne, general manager of Opera North, starts a week-long Guardian series by examining the case for subsidy and the debilitating consequences of putting the performing arts on a starvation diet

Hard times demand big Napoleonic gestures



GOERING reached for his gun when he heard the word culture. One may forgive poor Lord Gowrie if he fiddles with his water pistol as he listens to the annual whinge of the arts establishment.

He, and his less sympathetic mates in the Government, must be growing weary of the increasingly specious arguments advanced in favour of more public subsidy for the arts, each aimed at a potentially floating vote round the Cabinet table. There's VAT, that's for the Treasury, and there is jobs, and there for Employment. There's the tourist trade for you, and nice hard

currency, there's national prestige for you, Prime Minister. And let's not forget the wets, exiled to the back benches, but respectable lobby fodder as they recall the good old "arm's length" principle which has served us so well.

Rosemary for remembrance: pangs for thoughts. These flowers in the arts garden may bloom briefly, but soon they will wither and end up in the glory hole. No, there are only two genuine reasons for subsidising the arts. One is the artist and the other is his public.

Patronage made possible the Medici tombs and the Ring cycle. The post-war Arts Council created a Covent Garden which premiered the four Tuppitt operas, and an English Stage Company which nurtured a generation of native playwrights. It has made possible the contemporary dance explosion of the last 15 years, and it virtually invented performance art.

The reason for public subsidy rather than the patronage of Ludwig II, as Wagner sadly understood, is that it makes art available to a wide audience. Not just leisure (to use the public relations jargon), but the full cathartic experience. Lenin thundered that art can reach

the deepest roots of the people. I was reminded in East Germany last week. Not a fashionable author here; and I suppose it is vain to expect of class-divided Britain the accessibility that seems to be natural in both Germany. Our way is, more gentle. We cannot (should not) compel people to enjoy opera. We can offer them a choice to do so, at a price they can afford.

I guess that Lord Gowrie might more or less agree with the last two paragraphs. And I find it hard to disagree with his impeccably (well, almost) argued apologetics in the Observer last month. There is little virtue in a 20 per cent increase for the Arts Council if inflation then runs at 25 per cent.

However, I am beginning to think that the Arts Council grant is the only true barometer of public commitment to the arts. Lip-service is paid to the idea of plural funding, but it doesn't take long to dismiss the other options—local authorities are worn down by rate-capping and by the decline in the rate support grant; business sponsorship is merely marzipan on the cake; and back we go to the poor old Arts Council.

If you look around, you will see a lot of bad art. The fizz that should sustain the

regional repertory theatres is too often replaced by flat bag beer, brewed by accountants. Even at the National Theatre or the RSC, the norm is meretricious revivals rather than genuine innovation. Internationalism has taken over the majority of the programming of our symphony orchestras and Royal Opera House. It's a bit like scanning the arts summary in the Frankfurt editions of the Financial Times, or checking into a Hilton: luxurious, reassuring, boring. We have become too good at making do in straitened circumstances. The talk is always of money, seldom of art. Experts at husbanding our resources, we are too timid to risk innovations. We reflect our growing insularity and mean-mindedness as a nation, when we should be subverting them.

There are a few pockets of resistance, maybe three or four theatre companies scattered around the country, one of the regional orchestras, an occasional burst from a choreographer or two, perhaps as many as four opera companies on a good night.

But the flame flickers uncertainly. By no means, all we do is good enough. If the fire burns out for lack of fuel, what is to become of our great entertainment pal-

aces? Forget the South Bank for a moment. Rugged the Barbican. I am thinking of the large, welcoming theatres of the North.

Leeds City Council (one of the more enlightened local authorities) restored the beautiful Victorian Grand Theatre and Opera House. Raymond Slater (one of the more enlightened businessmen) returned Manchester's Palace Theatre and its Opera House to public use. Merseyside County Council (sic transit gloria...) saved the Liverpool Empire Theatre.

These places are each being visited by hundreds of thousands of people a year for a wide variety of shows. Opera North's recent Christmas season in Leeds played to virtual capacity, breaking all previous box office records. We have similar stories about musicals across the Pennines.

This network of genuinely popular national theatres is in danger of crumbling, if they are not sustained by further major investment in the companies which bring them alive. That requires an effort of political will, which seems beyond the scope of an arts' length agency such as the Arts Council and beyond the possibilities of local government acting in isolation. It demands the Na-

poleonic grand gesture as practised by de Gaulle and Pompidou and Mitterrand, but regarded as vulgar showmanship in sedate Britain.

Or is it? Two examples, one recent, the other from ten years ago. The Department of the Environment, mindful of the economic decline of Liverpool, decided to fund a garden festival there last year to the tune of £16 million. In the event, I am told, almost double that amount was spent on a project which certainly attracted attention for a time.

I am not concerned here that there were fierce local objections that the money could have been better spent; merely with the evidence of government initiative on a fairly grand scale. I am also interested in the premise that the same amount of money, spent over a longer period, could have permanently transformed the arts in Liverpool, or any other northern city.

Lord Eccles, when Minister for the Arts, tried a Doherty experiment on a much smaller scale in three politically selected areas. Two more or less fizzled out. The third, which was creative, was imaginative, local authority support, the Theatre Cwyd in Mold, a remarkably successful theatre complex on a

continental model. Eccles' initiative has endured.

I can understand that endurance is not the most attractive quality to politicians elected for five years and with a ministerial brief of probably less. Immortality must appeal more to those who would play Napoleon. I can also appreciate that local authorities have other things on the agenda at present. When the roads are falling apart and the fire brigade is undermanned, when you are threatened with abolition, what price opera?

To which the answer is that out of the debris of the second world war came the artistic renaissance of modern Germany—and the Arts Council of Great Britain. From the mess that was seems to surround local government re-organisation, something stronger must be created. Not a patched-up job, but a partnership between central and local government which invests in the future.

In 1947 Walter Felsenstein re-launched the Komische Oper in Berlin and over the next 25 years made history. At the moment all that most of us are making is manure.

TOMORROW: Keeping alive the cultural flame in Europe.

COLISEUM

Edward Greenfield

Count Ory

IT IS astonishing that a 22-year-old opera production should remain as fresh and funny as Count Ory at the Coliseum, one of the few ENO productions that has survived from Sadler's Wells days. The stylised heraldic set of Peter Rice—a revolving gold wedding-cake of a castle with crusaders on hobby-horses—still prompts a round of applause when the curtain rises, and the busy production of Anthony Bosch matches the fizz of Rossini's score.

This work is unique in operatic history in containing a nun's drinking chorus, with the wicked Count Ory disguised followers roistering convincingly yet with excellent discipline. Rossini's score—arguable his finest after the Barber—effectively holds everything aloft after the curiously static prelude. David Perry, director of Opera 80 but new to ENO, conducted a neat well-paced reading.

The singing is generally stylish too. John Brecknock as the predatory Count himself may have just a little bloom in the topmost register, but not many British tenors today can match his combination of freedom of tone and precision of attack in this always tart music. Alan Opie as the Count's friend, Raimbaud, also survives from the last revival in 1980, relishing his big moment when the bottles are revved to the thirsty male nuns.

The rest are new, including the bright and brilliant Countess Adele of Isobel Buchanan, a welcome star newcomer to the ENO team. Only the occasional rawness of the very top married a dazzling and fluent performance, with straight-faced humour nicely touched in. Jane Edwards as Isolier the Count's daughter was also making her ENO debut with her characteristic, agile mezzo.

Otherwise Anne-Marie Owens was an aptly rusty Ragoude, making the castle custodian as formidable as any of Gilbert's dragons in the Savoy operas. Rodrick Kennell as the Count's Tutor, towering over his charge, was convincingly baleful in Act 1, though less happy roistering with the lads in Act 2.

For the last performance of this season of Gotz Friedrich's new ENO production of Wagner's Tristan and Isolde, Lionel Friend took over from Reginald Goodall as conductor. Just how much his tenor's tempt were those of his dedicated octogenarian predecessor I would not like to say—some passages remained very slow indeed—but his control of the playing of the orchestra superb with fine, burnished string tone.

Central to the success was the commanding singing of Johannes Mier as Isolde, strong and even throughout the range with top Cs pinging out with stunning ease. Linda Finnie as Brangaene sang with matching power and confidence.

Kenneth Woollam, taking over from Alberto Remedios as Tristan for the last three performances gave a felt and always intelligent performance, but the voice has nothing sensuous in it. It was to Mr Woollam's credit that he projected as well as he did, focusing his tone more clearly than he has often done in the past.

Geoffrey Chard remained a firm Kurwenal. John Tomlinson, a singing and deeply expressive King Mark, whose Act 2 monologue for once, with every word clear, brought an intensification not a penance.



Isobel Buchanan as Countess Adele at the Coliseum. Picture by Douglas Jeffery

COVENTRY

Paul Allen

Golden Leaf Strut

LEON Rappolo was the jazz clarinetist whose high, wild improvisations graced the New Orleans Rhythm Kings, one of the white Dixie bands that took the devil's music to lucrative Chicago in the early twenties. The fun lasted two years. Rappolo went back to New Orleans and one day threw his clarinet in a lake. He was confined to Louisiana State Sanatorium, the older reference books say, "hopelessly addicted to marijuana."

What happened? Julian Garner's play, given its English regional premiere in Robert Hamlin's production at the Belgrade Studio, tells us that Rappolo was the strictly-raised son of a Sicilian immigrant who ran away with an ageing vaudeville queen and probably played for Al Capone before he was out of his teens.

Unfortunately Garner doesn't trust himself or his story enough. His first red herring is not to come clean about his characters; his second is a suggestion that his real theme will be the nature of addiction, whether

to power or possession or the soft drug which is the golden leaf itself. His mystery-making is ingeniously done, but it means the final scene is more about clarifying the play than Rappolo's breakdown.

Three things stop it from turning out altogether mundanely. We get regular reminders of the beguiling, haunted quality of Rappolo's playing. We get the occasional original insight into his state of mind, notably through a late image of him playing out in the countryside accompanied only by the wind in the telegraph wires and feeling "the music leading out of me."

And we get acting of great intensity from Alan Cody, Trevor Allen and Joanna Monro, all playing the emotional weight and passion that should be in the writing rather than the theatrical cleverness that is. They make it work.

NEW HALF MOON

Nicholas de Jongh

Scrap!

BILL MORRISON'S extraordinary and engrossing play, first seen in Liverpool

three years ago, envisages Ireland as a strategic scrap heap on the remote shores of Europe where religious intransigence dooms it to be a fanatic's playground. The form is film noir, crossed with Orson Welles' farce.

The piece, often structured in the briefest of scenes as though originally conceived for television or cinema, has a complex, labyrinthine plot which unconsciously draws all its chief characters to a final, fatal rendezvous in a Liverpool drinking club.

Yet the schematic nature of the plotting rather suits and matches the sinister, conspiring characters; Mulligan, the wild, bulky Protestant who pursues his rebellious daughter to Liverpool; Isolier, the deftly portrayed by Edward Southern, a clever, suave chap who believes that "Bribery, blackmail and betrayal" are the only ways to put Ireland "on the map"; and Lennon the cop from whom people want order, not justice.

Ellen Cairns's set, a sombre semi-circle of doors as if for a Fordian face, is framed by corrugated iron and accommodates both the play's sleaziness and its abrupt movements about Liverpool. Chris Bond's direction seems intent upon a cinematic realism which neither the play or the setting can take.

But Morrison's sense of Ireland shines through: here

is a place where religion is Old Testament fury and where violence pays. It is reflected in sharp characterisations from Howard Southern and Ron Donachie, a huge stalking hero who reeks of pent-up fury.

COVENT GARDEN

Mary Clarke

Triple Bill

ONE of the problems with the Royal Ballet today, besides lack of firm direction, rigorous training, discipline and choice of designers, is the apparently lost art of programme building. Bowling, very slightly, to public demand, the company now offers a tiny bit of choice in its triple bills but any mix you take of the present offering is a dire one.

On Saturday night, for example, we began with a masterpiece, Balanchine's Ballet Imperial, and MacMillan's "Different Drummer" as the central piece, and ended with Ashton's Facade. The present revival, if that is the word, of Ballet Imperial, will surely go down in history as one of the other side there is a backing trio straining at the leash to counter the drifting introspection with their light but impassioned playing.

Long memories brought long faces at the Royal Opera House last week. We mourned not only the loss of the promised Eugene Berman designs but the clarity and accuracy of execution of dancers such as Moka Shearer, Violetta Elvin and Antoinette Skiles in the ballerina role, the joyous ease of Beryl Grey as the second dancer, the "electric flourish" of Michael Somes.

Ravenma Tucker could, with proper coaching, sustain the ballerina role; she's a dancer, but she's not dancing what she has been taught to dance. But it's the corps de ballet dancing that is really lamentable. Where is the "electric flourish" of Alex Hamilton's paperback column has been held over.

But Morrison's sense of Ireland shines through: here

ensemble movement" that Balanchine invented? Despite over-bright smiles, the dancers seemed as unhappy as the audience. In Different Drummer they were on safer territory—and Maria Almeida as Marie gave a performance even more mature, more convincing than did Alessandra Ferri; but there is something wrong when a debut in a dramatic role dominates an evening that should have begun with a cascade of classical dancing.

BRIXTON

Robin Denselow

The Smiths

THE SMITHS may now be the most popular band in Britain, but the contradictions within this tunefully doomy quartet seem ever more bizarre. On one side there is the odd figure of Morrissey, with his self-pitying voice and intriguing lyrics that offer an orgy of nihilism and sing-along confession for those plagued with inadequacies, mixed in with a horror and fascination with violence. And on the other side there is a backing trio straining at the leash to counter the drifting introspection with their light but impassioned playing.

In larger doses his voice often sounded thin and stretched, and it was for guitarists Johnny Marr to provide the variety. Son on Rushmore Ruffians, a story of violence and lost love at a fairground was matched by a strong riff reminiscent of Presley's His Latest Flame, while on Barbarism Begins at Home the band launches into an up beat funk jam that hardly seemed to match the lyrics. It was an uneven show, but it had its moments. Morrissey displayed anger rather than self-pity as in his farmanard blitz Meat Is Murder. A spotcheck revealed that this vegetarian anthem had completely emptied the hodgepodge queue.

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The debris of the strike that's gone

The instant mythology is that mineworkers will walk back to their pits tomorrow without agreement but united and with heads held high. The sad truth is considerably bleaker but must be faced if a divided and defeated union is to pick itself up and dust itself down. That truth runs something like this: the minority members of the National Union of Mineworkers who are still on strike will tomorrow walk back to work — except for those who have called it a day and drifted in, as "new faces" at the start of the 52nd week of the strike. Moreover, they will return without even the comfort of a general and publicly proclaimed amnesty for the more than 700 men sacked for various offences — and with that one third of the union's membership which (constitutionally) ignored the strike call from the beginning.

Let us, for the moment, stick with that brusquely rejected call for a national amnesty. Many strikers had, reluctantly accepted, that the board was not about to let them off the hook with an acceptable negotiated settlement. They accepted, privately, that a fair number of pits deemed by the NCB to be "uneconomic" would be closed this year whatever the small print of the Nacods deal. But they wanted some face-saver and they wanted to do right by members now condemned to pay a heavy price for their activities during the dispute. One of the abiding shames of the mining community is that, after 1926, the coal owners successfully sacked and blacklisted "troublemakers" who were never to work again at their trade. The current purge is a rather different matter in cold logic. But then cold logic is not the mood in which it will be discussed in miners' welfare and pit villages up and down embittered coalfields and the mass of long time, highly professional, working managers know as much.

The 700 sacked men are being punished (twice over, be it noted) for a variety of offences. At one end are those found guilty by the courts of minor acts of robbery in the heat of picket line confrontations. Alongside them, and yet more pathetic, are men convicted of theft for "picking" coal from the dangerous and commercially worthless (uneconomic, one might say) dumps. Their prosecution, though absolutely lawful, was as vindictive as the systematic persecution of working miners' families by their former comrades. Neither should have happened. At the other end of the scale are lesser numbers of people found guilty by the courts of major acts of criminal violence against persons and property — the homes and cars of "scabs," police and NCB vehicles and pit head offices and computer centres.

The board has a clear duty to those it encouraged to work through the strike. That duty involves excluding from its properties and payroll those who organised and executed the intimidation and the attacks upon working miners and who beat them in their homes. It has every right to refuse to re-employ the bus burners and the computer smashers. Beyond that, however, a coherent and caring management, concerned with the future of a major industry, would, today, declare an amnesty for all other offenders. It might well be coupled with a challenge to the NUM to declare, equally publicly, that the union will not tolerate any further persecution of those it deems to be "scabs." The board could reasonably make such a limited but substantial amnesty conditional upon a "no victimisation" statement from the union in the course of the week. It is time for a new start.

As the supposed winning team, it is for the board to take the initiative in magnanimity. The outstanding wage question must be swiftly and cleanly sorted out and, with it, the overtime ban. Beyond that, however, are the questions central to the strike itself. In its final document, delivered via the TUC, the board stressed the "vital importance" of re-negotiating the Plan For Coal and the "urgent need" to agree the "constitution membership and role" of the independent body to review contested pit closures. It should be made clear, beyond a peradventure, that the board is waiting to start the serious talking about the future of the industry. Likewise that the talks on the review body are open, without precondition, to the NUM as well as Nacods. The review body, once established, will, the board should make clear, be wide open to appeals from each and every union in the industry. There are, in reality only losers today. But there is the possibility of minimising the losses and starting over.

And the political accounting

And what, in another part of a stretching and shadowy forest, will be the final political accounting of the past twelve months? A triumphant Mrs Thatcher brandishing her Scargill Factor? A relieved Mr Kinnock, seeking to put the agonies of doubt and evasion behind him? The prompt resumption of politics as usual, whatever that may mean?

This was conflict for the highest stakes. Had the miners "won" on any public judgment, then this Government would either have fallen or drifted rudderless towards eventual ignominy. And that perception, for 52 weeks, has dominated Cabinet minds, over-riding other issues — even unemployment. But "winning," for Mrs Thatcher, has no such sweeping conclusions. Last summer and autumn, that simple result might have buoyed her administration forward. A sour winter, however, has chipped away at those certainties. As it became evident that Mr Scargill could only lose, slowly, so the Government and the Prime Minister began to slide in the polls. Initiative after initiative came and went in a morass of detailed points which seemed, curiously, to echo the aftermath of the Falklands. The Prime Minister did not flinch from battle. But when that battle was intrinsically decided, she had no talent for peace-making.

From that standpoint, too, yesterday's vote is the poorest of outcomes. In the end it was impossible to find a formula for peace. In the end there may be only bitterness and further argument, guerrilla warfare moving from pit to pit and area to area. A new start — the basic prerequisite for a basic industry — may be achieved only over years rather than months. In a narrow political sense, of course, the Conservatives sense some benefit in such a protracted finale. Mr Scargill has not appended his name to any settlement. There are no words he will have to live with. He remains, to blame the TUC for its cowardice and to haunt Mr Kinnock. Just as he dominated last year's Labour conference, so he may return next autumn to stir constituency anger against a leadership that distance itself from his fight.

But these are longer range calculations. For the Government, with the conflict essentially over, is left alone once more on the centre stage. It is Conservative economic policies which must now, after six years, be painstakingly assessed. It is Conservative efforts to tackle the blight of unemployment that must be set in stark relief. It is Conservative competence that is in question. Mrs Thatcher may have survived one mighty struggle; but — as that shadowy lift — others cluster in a year that could shape the next decade of British political life.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A Reaganomic lesson for the theatre

Sir, — As an American living in London and enjoying your city's extraordinary and abundant cultural offerings, I deeply lament the Government's cuts in arts funding. Particularly the funding cut that has resulted in the anticipated closure of the Cottesloe Theatre.

To my knowledge, the National Theatre complex is unique in the world. For an American, the chance to find a Medieval Mystery cycle, a Chekhovian comedy, the latest Maelstrom presented, in one night under the same roof, at accessible prices, with restaurants and films and music and arts exhibits and a superb staff, is simply overwhelming.

Take heed from us: in the United States, we have many fine "non-profit" (i.e., non-commercial) companies, which exist barely and bravely on individual contributions, corporate donations and Government subsidies. Yet, Government funding is being ever-diminished by the Reagan administration, which urges that individuals and corporations take up the slack.

Throughout the country, arts companies are exhausting themselves, fighting over private funds. Yet at the

same time, in Congress, a new tax bill is being considered that will well eradicate the tax incentives for these very private contributions. Should this take place, with both public and private funding so heavily diminished, many of our non-profit companies will fold.

The situation in our commercial sector (no contributions, public or private) is even grimmer. On Broadway, where production costs are enormous, fifty dollars is not an unusual price for a ticket. The modestly-increased arts lover cannot afford to experiment, if indeed to attend theatre at all.

And those who can attend demand blockbusters for their money; which, ironically, pushes production costs up even higher. If a show is not an instant hit, then it must be withdrawn; the public cannot afford to take a chance on it, and the producers cannot afford to play for a long time. One wonders where it will all end.

I urge members of Britain's arts funding committee: Go to the Cottesloe. See, for example, the Mystery Cycle. See that the theatre is full and that much of the audience are children, entranced by a work written

over 500 years ago, and telling a story far older than that. See how vividly this story continues to exist on the stage, due to the perfect integrity of the National Theatre ensemble. And please know that such integrity simply cannot exist if the arts are forced to conform to commercial dictates. Do not let the Cottesloe go dark.

Granted, nations must move into the "post-industrial age," or the "technological age," or the "mutual assured destruction age," or whatever wretched name this age will be given by posterity (should posterity come about at all). But it is to be hoped that they will not move into the future at the expense of ages past.

Would that any country knew, and could bring to life, whatever dramatic rituals were performed on our soil a half-millennium ago. We cannot. You can. And you can only make the experimental work. I would spend my last dollar (and just about have) to attend your theatre.

One's cultural light is a beacon to the rest of the world. These lights are scattered in every part of the city, from grand concert

halls to tiny fringe theatres. Please keep them lit, for if one goes, the others soon may flicker, in London and throughout the world. — Lisa Moody, 41 Montague Road, Richmond, Surrey.

Sir, — As a member of the Arts Council, and Chairman of its embattled Drama Panel I am inevitably "pig-in-the-middle," but for once the insider does, I think, see most of the game — and a very sad game it is.

So the theatre in England, and in particular the regions, has lost them, seven distinguished practitioners of the art. The likely outcome is either that Government will shirk its professional advice altogether (there are those close to Council who would prefer that), or that ministers will be able to evade their own responsibility for the crisis by standing on the touch-line, watching the Drama team, in righteous fury, kick the Arts Council football straight into their own goal. Yours truly, Trevor Church, Chairman, Arts Council Drama Advisory Panel, London EC2.

Miscellany

Sir, — With reference to Mr Bernard Withers's letter (February 28) in reply to mine of February 23, I wrote "will" because I meant "will." I was expressing my meaning and not that of Mr Withers which is different.

Mr Withers by using "shall" twice, was expressing his future intention whereas I was employing the first person singular of the future tense of the verb to win.

If Mr Withers would care to consult Fowler and the OED he will find a full explanation of the appearance of this mis-use of "shall" in the south of England — though happily, not in the North nor in Scotland. — Yours faithfully, (Lord) Westminster, House of Lords.

Sir, — Mr Noble asks why Malcolm Fairley was sentenced to 10 years for assaulting a man and only two years for assaulting a woman.

The sentences for the respective offences are laid down in the Sexual Offences Act 1967, ss 1 and 2. I hope that this situation will be altered as soon as practically possible — certainly there can be no possible justification for such a discrepancy. — Yours faithfully, Claire M. Hodgson, 15 North Terrace, Tyne and Wear.

Sir, — Of course the Queen is entitled to a private conversation, even if the rest of us are not. — Yours faithfully, David Moulton, Sudbury, Suffolk.

Sir, — Who would have thought our old friend Doctor Who would encounter a power crazed madman he couldn't deal with? — Yours John C. Robertson, Glasgow.

Lasting issues in a Scottish housing crisis

Sir, — Jean Stead's interesting, if depressing, two articles on the Glasgow housing crisis are a timely reminder of the current lack of investment in Scottish housing: a case which has been made extensively by the Scottish Construction Industry Group and the RIAS over the past few years.

Nonetheless, I hope that the balance of her articles were more accurate than the reasons which were advanced for some of Glasgow's current problems.

It is, of course, arrant nonsense to say that architects are now faced with the task of designing modernist like Communist theatres: maybe that was the case 30 years ago but not now. In any case, in Glasgow, the majority of buildings to which people now object were not in fact designed by architects but by package dealers.

The sad fact is that the actual blame must lie not even on those who promoted the package dealers but the catastrophic housing shortage which faced Scotland in 1960, approaching a shortage of half a million houses.

Putting that into the context of our current achievement of constructing perhaps 7,000 houses per year, it must be seen that the steps taken by government and the building industry to build quickly in the immediate post-war years were successful in terms of quantity — if not quality.

The problem about the current lack of investment is that we could be back to the necessity for a new wave of system-building if more care is not taken of our current stock.

In short, a serious look of Scotland's housing problems would concentrate upon the following:

A five-year plan for housing investment based upon

the current rates of deterioration in Scotland's exceptional climate. The consequent re-investment in the building industry, both in craft and technological skills, to ensure that the building industry can meet the demand and build well.

The fact that we, in Britain, spend possibly up to 40 per cent less per housing unit than who are equivalent countries in Northern Europe: with the inevitable consequence that if we continue to build cheaper in the worst possible climate our buildings are not going to last.

A COUNTRY DIARY

THE LAKE DISTRICT: A disappointing winter, so far, for skiers since the fierce east winds swept haphazard accumulations of powder snow into unlikely places from which it has been rapidly thawing away. For a time, though, before the dreary, foggy days blotted out the fells, it looked as if it might be a good winter for ice with the arms and smaller lakes frozen over and excellent ice-climbing conditions in some of the gills and gullies. The ice in the crags took me by surprise one recent cold, sunny

day in Dove Dale. I had idly contemplated an ascent of Dove Crag's South Gully — usually a straightforward snow climb — followed by a round of the tops, but what snow had looked from the entrance to the dale, a narrow, enticing ribbon of snow turned out to be, on close inspection, a hundred yards long tongue of steep greenish-blue ice at least a foot thick. With a companion, I decided to attempt it. We had a demanding ascent although the ice was in perfect condition; alone, it was out of the question. Eventually, the summit was

reached by a scramble to the left of the gully up easy rocks and frozen snow. Several other places in the fells — including frozen waterfalls — yielded good climbing ice before the long, slow thaw although, early on, the bitterly cold east winds were discouraging. On one of the better days before the fog came down Pler's Gill on Scafell Pike was found by one party to be half a mile of glacial ice. We had an interesting crampon route in widely impressive surroundings.

A. HARRY GRIFFIN.

New strength in the mines

Sir, the grudging return of the miners to work is evidence of the failure of the Thatcher experiment, rather than of success.

Although the loyalty of the miners in the coal dispute has been to the interest of the community, it reveals a deeper awareness of the human spirit than do the philosophies of government. The miners' self feeling that individual worth and true expression in community is nearer to truth than using the individual as an economic cypher.

Over the past year the miners have learned how to live with poverty, and the springs of nobility which have been touched will continue to nourish us all. Although abusive and manipulative power has been used to drive most of them back to work, they now have the strength of new insights to add to past experience.

They will have learned that economic measurement is never enough. Always, from Wat Tyler to Martin Luther King, the resurgence of spiritual values among the dispossessed has inspired later generations to throw bondage. The process continues.

It is unfortunate that the Thatcher economic dream faded. There was a need for the industry and discipline which inspired her understanding. Perhaps, had her government applied its remedies to the activities of currency speculators and tax avoiders just as resolutely, her brave ideal might have been realised. — Yours truly, Lewis Watlin, 26 Gosford Road, Beccles, Suffolk.

On the level

Sir, — I am happy to answer Dr Ball's request (Letters, January 29) for the exact tar delivery of Benson & Hedges supplied to Sudan: it was 13 mg. The brand therefore complied with government requirements. In fact, all our brands comply with government requirements. In a sense, however, there are different laws and regulations and even (though this may come as a shock to some) different consumer preferences. Tar deliveries do therefore vary a little to take account of taste.

The figures quoted by Dr Ball bear little resemblance to our own or even the figure reported in a World Health Organisation study for Benson & Hedges in Malaysia (one figure was referred to) it was 18.3 mg during the period 1981-83.

The subject of cigarette delivery levels is too complex for a brief letter. However, at the heart of Dr Ball's letter is the implication that my company manufactures cigarettes for export to Third World countries which have significantly higher tar levels than those on sale in the UK. This is not true. Our cigarettes, like all our products, are manufactured in the UK. — Yours faithfully, Martin Cannon, BAT (UK and Export) Ltd, Woking, Surrey.

● Saturday's Leader about the IRA should have referred to a confederation of the two Islands, not the two Irelands.

The ring of uncertainty that surrounds government security



Hugo Young

LORD BRIDGE is the right sort of judge to be a security man. If a judge has to do this work as chairman of the Security Commission, he is the proper successor to Lord Diplock. He spent his formative legal years as the Treasury lawyer, arguing the government's side, day in day out, in every case that came up. He has been an enthusiast for the polygraph or lie-detector at GCHQ, which the Americans (and ministers anxious to appease the Americans) were pushing hard, but which many British experts regard as an offensive waste of time.

In that titanic struggle for every judge's soul — where does he stand between the state's need to shore up its authority and the citizen's need to expand their rights against the state? — there has been no reason to place Lord Bridge among that minority of the brethren whose instincts are to resolve the struggle in the citizen's favour.

But this week Lord Bridge has a problem. He has to make a report on telephone-tapping. Wearing his executive hat, he has agreed to make this the latest such report on record. There was a time when judges hustled by ministers for a quick decision would have told them to jump in the Thames. But Lord Bridge hopes to deliver his report on the phone-tap-

ping allegations made in the banned Channel Four film M15's Official Secrets, by Wednesday: in time for the second reading of the Interception of Communications Bill.

People have criticised the Bridge inquiry as being inadequate. It won't touch all the film's revelations: the use of M15 for party purposes, the possession of major explosive potential. It could play its part, along with the film, in blowing open this element of the state apparatus which, it is becoming increasingly obvious, is under-regulated, insufficiently scrutinised and characterised by much bare-faced lying from both ministers and policemen.

For any verdict, Lord Bridge reaches must raise fundamental questions. Either he will find warrants on the film which indicate that ministers approved of trade unionists and others being tapped. Or he will find no warrants; that ministers did not authorise the tapping. Or, if the verdict he cannot reach is that no phone-tapping took place, the kind described went on. He is not asked to make that judgment, nor has he the resources to do so.

Besides, no one in government has so far sought to refute the substance of the film. A feeble and unconvincing effort was made to discredit the chief witness, Ms Cathy Massiter. But my own antennae have picked up clear indications that ministers judge the film to be essentially true — which is why they don't want to put Ms Massiter or anyone else on trial.

The question about the Bridge report therefore becomes one of publication. The verdict may be inescapably embarrassing — but only if it becomes public knowledge. For non-publication in this highly sensitive field, the Government may be tempted to grope for a fudging paraphrase which somehow manages to keep the history of the Bridge inquiry behind a delphic assurance that "there has been no improper phone-tapping".

But here the hustling of his Lordship will surely win. We have taken a disadvantage. Ministers might prefer to keep Bridge under wraps, but by going ahead with their bill they make it impossible to do so. In highly-charged circumstances, the House of Commons will simply not be satisfied with a Home Secretary and Prime Minister who involve the Security Commission as a way to get at the truth, and then refuse to divulge what he says at the very moment when they are affecting to put the case to a legitimate footing.

So we should assume that Bridge will in essence be published. And that it will show either that warrants were issued or that they weren't. And that in either circumstance public alarm will have been caused. In the highly-charged circumstances, the House of Commons will simply not be satisfied with a Home Secretary and Prime Minister who involve the Security Commission as a way to get at the truth, and then refuse to divulge what he says at the very moment when they are affecting to put the case to a legitimate footing.

There are already indications of how the Government is preparing. It is polishing up the classic Whitehall response. To call this Pavlovian would be an insult to dogs.

It is getting ready to say that since the majority of the film's allegations concern the period of Labour government, the present government has nothing unique to say about the history of this together, they are practising to intone.

There may well be issues on which this posture is defensible. Economics, for example, where the history of post-war policy is not so free of bipartisan catastrophe as to acquit either party of mutual incompetence. But the build-up of the Surveillance State is a present matter. For it is really the attitude — that all surveillance is acceptable because it has occurred under both governments — that we have taken a giant stride towards the unfree society in which government of any colour comes to be totally mistrusted.

Conservatives, in particular, should view this prospect with horror. Yet many evidently don't. Do these glimpses of the overbearing, intrusive State not conform with all they have said about the injustices of the past 20 years? About getting the State off the backs of the people? Not if you listen to the House of Commons. Last Thursday, when first Mr Dale Campbell-Savours and then Mr David Steel sought to invest Mr Brittan's announcement that the Bridge inquiry with a proper seriousness, all we heard from the Tory benches was the tribal caterwauling of hooligans.

Some Tories do regard most phone-tapping as repugnant. Mr Tom King, the Employment Secretary, said categorically on television 10 days ago that he opposed the tapping of union leaders' phones in any circumstances other than when they were connected with an enemy power. Privately, a few Tories are quietly appalled by what they are beginning to learn.

Hardly any of them, however, will publicly intone what fits the case. They seem frightened to break ranks. Doing fealty to their leader, they forget about the led. The Tory party is quite happy to split apart over the rates, and for some time, yet in its peering to a world beyond party. But when it comes to the freedom not to be tapped, or put on file, or treated as a crypto-Communist where do we find these tributes to the people? Yet it is precisely when the state becomes overmighty, and approved as such by successive governments, that the House of Commons should behave as the last defence of essential freedoms: not rallying round the Government but acting in accordance with the stark and horrific realisation that all governments, over a long period, have either tolerated or encouraged a growth in surveillance which Parliament never intended to permit. That realisation, the film, and I guess the Bridge report, now make inescapable.

On Wednesday, assuming the phone-tapping bill goes ahead, three conclusions should bear powerfully on MPs, who are now for the first time not dependent solely on the Government for the facts whereof they speak. The first is that M15 must be scandalously inefficient. By spending so much time monitoring bodies like CND and the NCCL, which pose no threat to the security of the state, it is bound to neglect its proper duty. In this age of terrorism, M15's legitimate security function has never been more important. The obsession with pursuit of phantom enemies, which seems to be its stock-in-trade, makes one wonder how many lives have been lost to the IRA as a result of the security services being distracted by other matters.

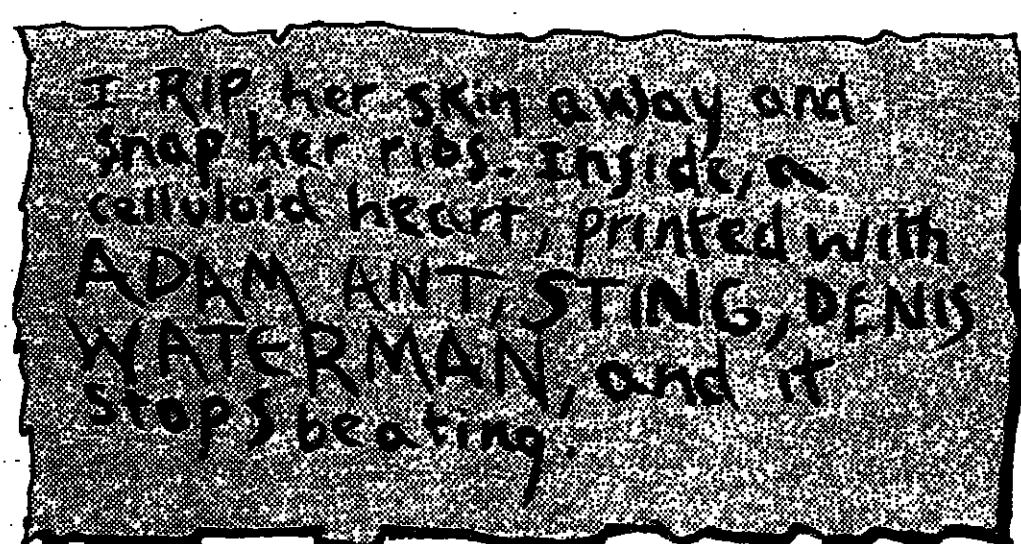
Secondly, we now know quite clearly that the safe-guards supposedly offered by the bill will be a charade. Lord Bridge and his colleagues will be able to

leagues will be able to receive complaints from anyone who thinks their phone is being improperly tapped, or their mail improperly opened. But their verdict can only be the delphic, "no improper tapping." Improper is being done. The law is prescriptive only if the definition of propriety is honest and specific. Mr Steel's proposal for a standing committee of privy councillors to oversee the security services while still not proof against suspicion of a governmental plot, would stand more chance of gaining public confidence than a committee of people who do not seem to be answerable to the public.

But thirdly, how much and to whom does this issue matter? It is vitally important that strict and unambiguous limits should be placed on state surveillance. Or is such concern a minority sport? A trivial hangover from the distant 1940s, aberrant in so many ways, when civil liberties were the modish pursuit of an elite which is now discredited?

My fear is that this is just what they are in danger of becoming. Many people, I suspect, do not much care if Mr Syd Hartoway's phone was tapped in 1978, or Mr Ken Gill's house was bugged to plant a bug, or the NUM and CND are under constant surveillance as actual or potential enemies of the state. This, too, along with the complicity of Labour governments, is something on which the Government will rely to deflect the attacks which should now descend upon it.

Members of Parliament, at least, should see the point of puncturing such innocent complacency. Ask not for whom the tap tolls next. Thanks to Ms Cathy Massiter and Lord Bridge, MPs are challenged to retrieve from the domain of obscure cliché something called eternal vigilance.



William Leith looks at the magazines that insult your intelligence, your complacency, and your parents

Rags against riches

THE BRITISH fanzine (literally "fan magazine") is like the British corner shop: essentially a local phenomenon, non-cluttered, cramped, small-staffed. Like the archetypal corner shop, fanzines can be full of people airing their half-baked beliefs in semi-private, bitching about their friends, rephrasing the same grievances over and over.

If they're bad, fanzines are nothing more than shabby, semi-literate gossip magazines for the alternative pop music scene. The better ones are faced, though, with the most debilitating of inbuilt problems: their appeal lies in their lack of professionalism. Elegance and slickness are seen as things to be avoided. Some fanzines even get letters complaining that they are too well-produced, too much like real magazines for comfort. The idea is that it's only worth doing if anyone can do it.

What happens, of course, is that anti-style becomes hopelessly stylised itself. To understand fanzines properly you have to be as fast with the sophisticated of a very specific style of protest.

Fanzines are produced throughout Britain, mainly in urban areas where there's enough interest in pop music to constitute a "scene." (Scarborough, for instance, boasts one fanzine, Brighton three or four, Manchester 15 or 20.) Sale is by return of post or in specific shops, the best-known and best-stocked of which is the Rough Trade centre in Nottingham Hill. Fanzines cost 20-60p each, and printing costs are high. The economics of it are simple: there's no profit in it.

A rack of fanzines yells at you like a picket-line, with titles like *The End*, *Buy Or Die*, *Low*, *And A Molotov Cocktail*, *Roan*, *Doris*, *Kill Your Pet Puppy*. They

are, of course, part of the whole punk package, the literary equivalent of the three-chord song, and like all forms of organised cultural chaos, they have a very short lifespan. Fanzines carry with them a sense of impending doom. Both writer and reader know that every issue might be the last, of course, but there's more doom than that involved.

Fanzines are full of obscene cartoons of Reagan and Thatcher, missile and mushroom-cloud motifs, intimations that we shouldn't expect to see from the world, that things are going to get pretty tough for us humans in the near future. The slogan on the most recent cover of *Vague* reads: "A nerving party on the quayside for those that couldn't afford a ticket on the Titanic!"

Stark, smudged xerox copy is often the only medium

available for the shoestring-budget fanzine editor, but it's not inappropriate for images of desolation and desperation. And sometimes, desperation is the reason that the fanzine exists: you can often find editorials saying things like, "I thought I wouldn't be doing this again because I thought I'd get a job, but I didn't, so here I am."

The range and quality of fanzine writing varies enormously, encompassing almost everything you could imagine from the utterly hopeless (stuff that scandalises you with its ineptitude, and "compensating" obscenity) through various stages of deliberate incoherence (for example, "Anarchy in the UK" transmogrified into a neutered marriage of pro-socialist and asexual self-abnegation) — Simon Reynolds in *Monitor* to the occasional sharp, finely honed piece of prose

which sparkles all the more against its context.

Many fanzines have pages of little bits and pieces (slogans, newspaper clippings, comic-strip cuts) stuck together in a sort of collage, which provides the reader with an opportunity to try to make his own sense out of it. The important thing is that because the people writing are also usually editing, and because the people reading don't seem to mind the writers can do pretty much what they like. The result can be rather like what happens when you take a series of random unedited photographs: you achieve moments of accidental brilliance.

Of course, complete editorial freedom has other results too, like relentless egotism, or uncensored boredom. With fanzines, you have to take the scruffiness with the smoothness. There can't be very many other places, though

(apart from comics like *Viz*) where you can find jokes which work simply because they are grossly obscene, or articles telling you how to get by without actually buying things, or long essays on anarcho-feminism by people without anything in the way of formal education. Fanzines are an insult to everything: your intelligence, your smug sensibilities, most of all your parents.

On the whole, it is true to say that moments of creativity aside, articles in fanzines are almost all to do with one of two things: the politics of pop music or other fanzines. In the first type of article, it is the writer's duty to "condemn bands for 'selling out' before anyone else can lead a similar accusation. Eradicating the system is the most important thing. The next most important thing is making it clear that the other fanzines are no competition either too shabby or too conformist."

Media File....

FIFTEEN days to the Budget, and the fight against VAT goes on. In truth, there is a growing sense in the publishing business that arduous bargaining against sticking the tax on the print media has already won through — but that's what the pension people seem to think too, and Nigel's got to get the cash from somewhere. So, chickens are not being counted.

MPs, on the other hand, are. By the end of last week, there were no fewer than four early day motions in the Commons, inviting opposition to the imposition of VAT on regional and local newspapers, and half the backbenchers had signed up. They couldn't bring themselves to unite behind the same one, of course, but one way and another 150 Opposition MPs and more than a hundred Tory backbenchers have declared themselves.

Mr Lawson must have got the message. Ex-ministers like Geoffrey Rippon, Gerard Vaughan, and Nicholas Fairbairn may invite the dry scorn of the present regime, and ex-media stars like Tim Brinton may or may not carry weight — but Treasury's figure as chairman of the Tory backbenchers' media committee is lined up with those of seven other such chairmen, including George Young, a European Affairs and Peter Blaker of Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs. Any move to impose VAT now would surely give the Finance Bill a distressing number of early night sittings for little return.

One strand in the pro-VAT argument got a knock from the select committee on the Treasury and Civil Service, which looked at the idea that European harmonisation demanded an end to zero rating, and concluded last week that it lacked merit. Meanwhile, it seems reasonable to suspect that the Treasury mandarins will take until well past Budget Day to fathom out the reasoning of one set of supplicants: the publishers of free newspapers and magazines have had to argue against the idea that a notional price could be placed on their wares in order that VAT be calculated on it. Not Fair! they cry. Rightly.

But perhaps they could have phrased it more delicately: "It would be inequitable to place a value added tax on an item which had no monetary value to the recipients — i.e. the recipient would not pay money to receive it."

Martin Wright reports on the Star ballot that won't take No for an answer

Hanging judges

NOT TO be outdone by Fleet Street's rigged Bingo, the Daily Star is running a rigged opinion poll: a referendum with no provision for a "No" vote.

Its banner headline on Monday, February 11, was "We've had ENOUGH!" There were photographs of murder victims, and an old lady badly beaten up. Inside were more photographs and case histories. One headline: "My mother's killers run free, implied judicial leniency, but sadly, since the perpetrators have not been caught, leniency or harshness has made little difference."

The series continued similarly. On Tuesday a Tory MP, injured in the Brighton bombing, opposed the death penalty for terrorists (it would play into the hands of the terrorists), but supported it for professional criminals who kill. This had the misleading headline: "Hanging the gunmen: that's the view of a victim of Brighton's bomb blast."

Wednesday's main news story was an appalling case in which an elderly widow was raped and battered. "This is what we mean!" Inside there was also a feature about the high level of violence in Nottingham, where women are afraid to walk alone after dark. Police victims were high-lighted on Thursday.

Finally Home Secretary Leon Brittan wrote in Friday's paper: "We must make our country a safer place to live in." The victim of a notorious rape case was followed to America; her attacker was meanwhile, it is said to be "prosperous." The editorial invites "your verdict."

A couple of contrary opinions are included, as a defence against a charge of total one-sidedness. A single case is recalled of a man wrongly convicted of murder who would have been hanged if the death penalty had been in force. Perhaps coincidentally, Joe Ashton, pointing out that future and degrading places, Leon Brittan admitted that these crimes are not everyday ones, and that if sentences were twice as tough, violent criminals would not disappear.

The Star's campaign will understandably strike a chord in many of its readers. Of course those crimes are atrocious and terrifying — the more so as it is hard for most of us to understand how anyone could bring himself to commit them. It is a disgrace that many women are afraid to go out alone. This is not a plea for leniency; it is a fraction of such violence it would be justified — provided it

As the media's navel-gazing season sets in, Jennifer Manton observes ITV's big Monte Carlo meet...

Relationships between the ITV companies and the advertisers and agencies, always tense, are currently more complex than ever. Ratings are up, so advertisers can reach more people for the same money — but will it last? Better research gives the chance to advertise to specific audiences, but do the companies' rate-cards encourage it? Meanwhile, the advertising agencies are enthusiastically pushing for the BBC to commercialise — the last thing ITV wants.

Selling the best bargain in a box

At which point, leading lights of both sides took off for Monte Carlo, where, at Marketing Week's latest broadcasting industry conference, the ITV side set out to convince their paymasters that they still offer the best bargain in the media. But even in this seductive watering-hole, they still had their problems.

"The TV companies are in a situation where they just can't win," says independent media-buying specialist Chris Ingram. "They put on a presentation to say the audience 'We know you're important; hear our case histories to see how important we are and how we're not expensive' — all logical things to do. The principle is right, although it

Charles Dance in *The Jewel In The Crown*: four of such mega-dramas a year?



though few believe this will last, some found the sales pitch a touch unnecessary.

"The last thing is that most of the media people are very positive about TV," says Nick Horwell, media director of agency FCO. "We don't have to be told that television is the most powerful medium in the world. Although people keep moaning about the price, the fact that money keeps pouring in proves television is still doing well."

Much of the sales pitch was devoted to encouraging more accurate audience targeting when buying television spots. Well-argued cases from Ron

one from the BBC there to put their point of view."

That the ITCA companies were on the defensive in other areas was demonstrated through an excellent interview with David Putnam (it had been pre-recorded on video, illustrating, incidentally, the formidable power of television). Putnam began his predictions about "whether TV drama" by asserting that the high these days came far too infrequently: programmes like *The Jewel In The Crown* should be quarterly rather than yearly drama events.

He also suggested that British TV productions would move the same way as American features — far more given to the independent section. "The days of in-house production in ITV and the BBC are numbered," he said.

Andy Allan of Central TV later attacked this heresy vehemently. Ironically, he chose snooker coverage to illustrate his point that Channel 4 had succeeded without the help of independents. The station, however, reached the magic 10 per cent audience figure on the backs of *A Woman Of Substance*, a mini-series made by independent producers.

Jennifer Manton is deputy editor of *Creative Review*.

...and Nicola Lockey sees the Creative Circle hot-shots hand each other their '84 ad awards

Quasimodo rings the right number for Telecom

LAST week's glittering prizes ceremony for the most creative and eccentric purveyors of advertising marked the fortieth year of the Creative Circle. Life, they say, begins at 40. But isn't that also the age of the mannequin, a difficult and moody time which heralds the end of creation, or procreation at least? This year's search for creativity certainly left one wondering.

True creativity and originality can probably only be rightly attributed to God. Advertising is somewhat lower down the theological hierarchy, though some of the most powerful agencies would be loath to admit it. "I AM" they proclaim into their champagne glasses, holding forth moral justifications on a question which is at best dubious, at worst superfluous.

Presenters Lenny Bennett and Faith Brown, who brought pure quiz show enthusiasm to the event, could have been excused for reserving judgment on that. Bennett, who claims to have despatched thousands of awards, said these were "bizarre" and "terribly ineptuous."

Yes, he agreed, the egotism was analogous to that of a group of actors, but with a higher casualty rate in advertising than in showbiz. Resplendent in hot pink satin, Ms Brown wore her palms thin leading the reluctant applause.

Those whose business it is to pursue creativity were surprised that the lion's share of gold awards went to establishment clients. British Telecom won Best Script, Most Encouraging Change of Direction and Best Campaign for its commercials featuring Quasimodo, Tarzan, Casper, and Neptune. Original they weren't, but with former CDP director Paul Weiland directing they were charming and emotive. Ironically, the delight of agency KMF must be somewhat marred by the



One of the award-winning magazine ads for Levi

announcement that its input is being reviewed by BT.

It is nice to find that BT's advertising is not being criticised by widespread anxiety over production budgets and national economic pressure, as was the Solid Fuel Advisory Service which won Best Director and Best Use of Production Budget over £100,000. Especially in the light of beer advertiser Bass's recent announcement that it intends to spend no more than £50,000 per commercial in future.

Whitbread, which sponsored one award, has made financial and philosophical commitments to creativity by, in the words of marketing director George Riddiford, "forming strong links with what we believe to be the most creative agencies in town (this year's heroes Lowe

Howard-Spink and Bartle Bogle Hegarty), and fostering some of the most creative advertising." And the company is unlikely to take such a radical step as its competitor Bass.

It is an expensive business making commercials. For the price of renting a studio and technicians for one day an average person could buy a house. Today sophisticated consumers cannot be subjected to reduced values, it is argued; research shows they are quick to spot the joints.

Meanwhile advertisers' commitment to these values has given British commercials a world recognised dominance with our directors and facilities increasingly in demand by European and American agencies, bringing

added growth to the £132 million marketplace of home commercials production.

Creative dominance within our industry is changing hands, according to these awards. Saatchi and Saatchi and CDP were eclipsed by the new young agencies Lowe Howard-Spink and Bartle Bogle Hegarty who are putting life back into the business in more ways than one. Their success is in blending solid advertising expertise with careful fostering of new talent, rejecting old school elitism.

Advertising is supposed to be a young business, but unemployment and agency cutbacks make it look less so now than ever.

The Creative Circle is committed to giving opportunities

to young people, and has achieved much with its Student Awards and job sponsorships. This concern was reflected in its President's Award to Masius's Sam Rothenstein (who retires next year) for "her dedication and devotion to the encouragement of new creative talent."

Even so, grey hairs bristled in the barn-like medieval splendour of The Brewery when Chris Palmer, a young man with a plait half way down his back — collected Whitbread's Most Promising Beginner award for his work for Bartle Bogle on the Levi Press advertisements. Inevitably there is a certain tension when tyros in their twenties rub shoulders with advertising veterans in their fifties.

Picked as Campaign's Agency of the Year for 1984, J. Walter Thompson is making a comeback, much to the surprise of some of its longer standing staff who say it's been the same for the past decade. The agency was responsible for the multi-award winning Polo advertising, a brilliant example of capitalising on your USP (unique selling point), art directed by young Tom Moul, son of Ted.

It was at JWT that another winner cut his teeth — 23-year-old East Ender Alex Ayuli, who is one of less than a dozen blacks in the business.

It's refreshing to see the advertising industry spreading its net in the tawdry for talent. The growing group of women in advertising picked up almost half the gold awards. JWT's successful team, Sandra Leamon and Annie Carlton, won more awards for their Persil posters. Director Anna Hart won Best Use of Videotape, Animation, and Computer Graphics for Hamlet's manipulation of the Channel 4 logo.

THE PIRATES of the Far East find their buccaneering ways severely threatened by last week's Singapore High Court judgment that copyright Act have similar protection in Singapore — a major centre of illicit copying. The music industry alone, according to the International Federation of Phonogram and Videogram Producers, loses as much as 150 million dollars through Singapore's rampant piracy.

The IFPI sees the new judgment, following British publishers' action against a bookseller, as a major breakthrough, and is looking for a new and tougher law as a follow-up. "The beginning of the end for the pirates is now," IFPI anti-piracy director James Wolsey sees it. With US copyright-owners helped too, if they have published in Canada, Britain, or allied territories within 14 days of US publication, a new concerted campaign of raids on pirate material of all kinds — computer software being the latest pirate booty — is on the horizon.

PARADISE POSTPONED, an original 12-part television epic of the non-progress of post-war Britain, as envisioned by the wry eye of John Mortimer, starts filming today. Lavishly cast, Michael Hordern, Colin Blakely, Annette Crosbie, Jill Bennett, you name them — and directed start-to-finish by Alvin Rakoff, it won't be off location until October, and will run on screens until one year hence, minimum, and I would not have mentioned it yet, except that Thames Television's Bryan Cowgill headed a very far cast and press on Friday to celebrate the start.

If such celebrations are a trend, Cowgill is already a legend. On Wednesday, Zenith Productions — the Charles Denton-Margaret Matheson spin-off from Central — and Silver Chalice Productions host a clubland affair to announce that their four-hour mini-series *Indira Gandhi*, A Tryst With Destiny, is not even in production, but merely pre-production. This morning's post, I doubt not, will bring an invite to toast some chap whom you just got this sooper idea...

Thames, meanwhile, have had a really good one. Some of the cast on *Paradise Postponed* are not even needed until the autumn, but last Tuesday and Wednesday Al Rakoff was able to read them all together for a read-through of Mortimer's entire village-life cliff-hanger. The players, accustomed to being brought in just to do their bits, seem to have found it a unique and illuminating experience. Just don't ask how the plot ends.

Peter Fiddick
Media editor

IT'S YOUR VERDICT

I believe that capital punishment should be brought back for the following categories of:

1. ☐ Murder ☐ Children ☐ Terrorism ☐ All murders ☐

2. ☐ Life sentences for serious crimes like murder and rape should carry a minimum term of: ☐ 20 years ☐ 25 years ☐

3. ☐ The prosecution should have the right of appeal against sentences they consider to be too lenient ☐

★ Tick boxes of those statements you agree with, then post this coupon to: VIOLENT BRITAIN, Daily Star, 33 St. Bride St., London EC4A 3AY.

NEW DIRECTIONS



IN PROGRAMME EXCELLENCE

Channel 4 continues to set high standards in British broadcasting. By establishing a distinctive style and a selective programming policy, we are enlarging the choice available to the country's viewers.

COMMISSIONING EDITOR

Educational Programmes Ref NS/2
£25,000
Channel 4's educational brief is a wide one, involving out-of-school education and the provision of a broad range of opportunities for adults. Within an allocated budget, the Commissioning Editor will agree general policy, commission programmes and ensure that high-quality educational programmes are seen on Channel 4. A sound understanding of educational and audience needs is required and production-based experience within TV, video or film would be helpful. The appointment will be on a fixed-term contract of three years.

ASSISTANT EDITORS

Educational Programmes Ref NS/4
£19,000
Assistant Editors are needed in a number of areas to assist Commissioning Editors in the commissioning, production and administration of programmes. The work involves considering programme proposals, preparing TV Times listings and transmission details and dealing with productions. Experience with film and/or video is desired in all four posts. Two year fixed-term contracts are offered.

Assistant Editor

Independent Film & Video Ref AF/3
This area includes the diverse output of the "Eleventh Hour" slot, film and video workshops which are funded by Channel 4 and community programmes.

Assistant Editor

Documentaries Ref CH/3
Work in this area covers both single documentaries and documentary series. A research background would be useful, particularly in one or more of the following areas: social history, international politics, environment, health.

Assistant Editor

Light Entertainment Ref MB/3
A challenging role for someone with new ideas to assist the Senior Commissioning Editor and liaise with production companies.

Assistant Editor

Educational Programmes Ref NS/4
From computing to programmes for the over sixties... the range is vast. Good knowledge of the educational system is essential.

Please apply in writing only quoting the appropriate reference and including a detailed CV with current salary particulars to the Personnel Department, Channel 4 Television Co. Ltd., 60 Charlotte Street, London W1P 2AX. Applications to be received by Monday 18th March.

4

CHANNEL FOUR TELEVISION

Editorial

Opportunities in scientific educational publishing/exhibition

...Scientific Editor to be responsible for the Bulletin, consisting of four scientific series (Botany, Entomology, Geology and Zoology); a Historical Series; a "Specialist" series; and "occasional" publications. You must have at least 3 years editorial experience in educational publishing and should preferably have a degree in Natural Sciences. Sound knowledge of production methods desirable. Appointment as Information Officer, British Museum (Natural History), London.

...Editor to liaise closely with biologists and designers transforming biological information into ideas for exhibits. You will be making sure that all exhibition labels, texts, commentaries and associated publications are written in simple, attractive, everyday language, as well as marking up and proof reading. You must have a degree, preferably with 1st or 2nd class honours, in biological science, or a closely related subject and a genuine interest in communicating scientific ideas. Good editorial experience advantageous. Appointment as Assistant Information Officer, British Museum (Natural History), London.

Press/Publicity

Safeguarding the national interest in telecommunications

...You will be joining a new organization "OFTEL" with the task of safeguarding national and consumer interests in the telecommunications industry (including British Telecom). There is a high media profile and a need to be responsive and promotional. This is a good opportunity to develop your skills in a sensitive area. You must have sound experience in press relations and promotional work, ability to write clearly and effectively. Experience of explaining technical, legal and consumer issues advantageous. Appointment as Information Officer, Department of Trade and Industry, London EC1.

Helping British Exports

...This is an opportunity to join a small busy team responsible for promoting the vital export activities of the British Overseas Trade Board. This is a crucial press role and involves writing on a range of trade and technical subjects. You may also attend seminars, conferences and trade events throughout the UK and, occasionally, abroad. Proven experience of press work and ability to write effectively on a range of topics essential. Experience in creating and using audio visual publicity advantageous. Appointment as Information Officer, Department of Trade and Industry, London.

Exhibitions

A major development in scientific exhibitions

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Similar vacancies may arise in these and other departments.

SALARY: As Information Officer: £9790 - £12025. As Assistant Information Officer: £6025 - £9790. Starting salary may be above the minimum. Promotion prospects.

For further details and an application form (to be returned by 22 March 1985) write to Civil Service Commission, Alconon Link, Basingstoke, Hants RG21 1JB, or telephone Basingstoke (0256) 468551 (answering service operates outside office hours). Please quote ref: G(3)434/L.

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Cumbria Tourist Board

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We require an energetic person to be responsible for the co-ordination of all pre-press assembly work. To assist in the job of co-ordination, on the job training can be given in design, camera work and platemaking. Some experience and an interest in print is essential.

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We urgently require a finance co-ordinator to be responsible for estimating, the charging of completed jobs as well as the overall financial control of the company. A background in print and/or accountancy would be an advantage. Some on the job training can be given. Applications in writing with full CV to: Blackcross Press, 30 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1R 6AT. Blackcross Press is a workers' co-operative and as part of our Equal Opportunities Policy, applications are welcome from people regardless of race, creed, nationality or responsibility for children or dependants.

SPEAK AMERICAN?

Publisher is looking for individuals with backgrounds in Cookery, Crafts, Medicine, DIY and some experience of editing, writing or researching. We can offer employment for approximately two years. Please write enclosing CV to:
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1-2 Henrietta Street
London WC2E 8PS

SALES PERSON

required to sell VIDEO TAPE & VIDEO DISC PRODUCTION SERVICES. Imagination, flair and experience essential. Write with CV to sell yourself to: Dick Fletcher, New Media Productions, 79 Parkway, London NW11 7PP.

ARE YOU TRAINED IN VIEWDATA?

If so, we need you. We are a fast-growing information provider and Viewdata Consultancy in the West End of London. Send full CV to: Maurice Minzly, VMS, 145 Oxford Street, London W1R 1TB.

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With offices in 36 countries, we are the world's largest organisation in the field of educational travel. Because of recent expansion, we have created a new position in our Santa Barbara office, the California headquarters of our U.S. operations.

The job primarily involves the writing of texts for travel brochures, guidebooks and corporate presentations. This entails close co-operation with colleagues in the marketing, sales and operational departments.

We are looking for somebody with a fluent writing style, an eye for technical detail, and the ability to present ideas clearly and logically. (copywriting experience is not a requirement, however.) A comprehensive knowledge of Western Europe is necessary and experience of the American way of life would be a distinct advantage. The successful applicant will probably have graduated within the last seven years, and will be available at short notice.

Conditions of employment are excellent, and a salary of \$20-30,000 p.a. is offered, according to age and experience. Applications in writing should be addressed to:

ef Anne Anthony
EF Cultural Tours
1 Farman Street
Hove Sussex BN3 1AL

THE ROYAL SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF BIRDS

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To assist generally, in production of natural history films including budgetary control, supervision of contracts and royalty payments, distribution, etc. Sound practical knowledge of birds and natural history essential, plus previous experience in a documentary film unit. Ability to write outline treatments, shooting scripts and commentaries a distinct advantage. Age range 25-40. Salary in range £8,533-£10,020; starting point dependent on qualifications and experience.

SOUND RECORDIST
(2-YEAR CONTRACT)
Experienced Film Sound Recordist required with particular interest in recording birdsong. Salary in range £10,020-£12,518 according to qualifications and experience. Application forms and details (enclose a.s.a.) from Personnel, RSPB, The Lodge Sandy, Beds.

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT

London-based weekly general-interest magazine for women requires an Editorial Assistant experienced in home and cookery subjects, to start April 1. Applicants must be able to sub-edit and do layouts. Salary negotiable. Please write with details of previous experience to:
The Editor, The Lady,
35-40 Bedford Street, Strand, London WC2R 9ER

STUDIO ENGINEER

Salary Scale 4/5: £5,804 to £7,886. The person appointed will be responsible for the efficient running of the recording studio and the maintenance of studio equipment. The person should be able to record, mixdown, edit, and be familiar with different studio techniques. A thorough understanding of black music is necessary. Closing date: 15th March 1985. Interviews will be held 22nd and 23rd March. For enquiries write to: The Director of the Crucible who is developing the work of Vanguard and TIE and Community Touring Company. The appointment is to commence in April 1985. Salary by negotiation. Please apply in writing with full CV to: Mike Kay, Associate Director, Crucible Theatre, Harrogate, North Yorkshire HG1 2TA.

CRUCIBLE THEATRE-SHEFFIELD

DIRECTOR OF TIE
responsible to Mike Kay the Associate Director of the Crucible who is developing the work of Vanguard and TIE and Community Touring Company. The appointment is to commence in April 1985. Salary by negotiation. Please apply in writing with full CV to: Mike Kay, Associate Director, Crucible Theatre, Harrogate, North Yorkshire HG1 2TA.

GLC

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Press Officer

Industry & Employment and Greater London Training Board

An experienced journalist or public relations officer, with a sound understanding of the Council and its responsibilities is needed to take direct responsibility for all press matters relating to the work of the I & E Committee and the GLTB. Experience of industrial reporting is essential.

Salary: £13,065-£14,781 inclusive. Ref: 5509.

Publicity Officer

Industry & Employment

To be responsible for writing and editing the Council's internal monthly newspaper, 'Abolition and You' — providing staff with information on the key issues and space to air their own views on workplace problems.

A sound background in journalism, copy editing and editorial layout is needed, together with the ability to meet deadlines and liaise effectively with people at all levels. Some knowledge of local government issues, particularly related to rate capping and abolition, is essential.

Salary: £13,065-£14,781 inclusive. Ref: 5506.

The GLC is an equal opportunities employer. We invite applications from women and men from all sections of the community, irrespective of their ethnic origin, colour, sexual orientation or disability, who have the necessary attributes to do the job.

For an application form, to be returned by 22nd March 1985, write to: GLC Director General's Department, Room 203, The County Hall, SE1 7PB or telephone 01-633 2790.

These posts are suitable for job sharing

PUBLICITY ASSISTANT

Salary range: £7,178 - £8,568 p.a.

A young person is required to work in the busy Publicity Unit at the Halifax Building Society's headquarters in Halifax, West Yorkshire.

The selected candidate will join a team of professional writers and report directly to the Publicity Manager.

Duties will involve researching, interviewing, writing and proof-reading — generally helping to produce a wide range of promotional literature, including in-house magazines and newspapers.

The position offers plenty of scope for anyone wishing to develop a career in the field of publicity and consumer PR in a marketing environment.

Candidates should have at least two years' experience of proof-reading since the successful applicant will be expected to give assistance in this area right from the word go. A degree in English is also desirable. The position will probably suit someone in the age range of 20 - 25.

Ability to work well under pressure and under own initiative will certainly be an asset.

The appointment offers a progressive salary, together with a contributory pension scheme, Group Life Assurance, BUPA and staff mortgage scheme.

Write now giving educational and career details to date to the General Manager (Staff), Halifax Building Society, PO Box 60, Trinity Road, Halifax, West Yorkshire, HX1 2RG.

HALIFAX BUILDING SOCIETY
An equal opportunity employer

Eyre & Spottiswoode Ltd
Her Majesty's Printers

Graphic Designer/Typographer

We are looking for someone to head a small design department, handling a growing 'design + print' turnover with a very wide variety of work. We have two factories, and extensive computer origination, in addition to print and bind, facilities. Knowledge of — and interest in — how a design is best produced is obviously essential. The conditions are good. Salary negotiable. Write in the first instance to Christopher Bradshaw FAHAD, 2 Sergeants Inn London EC4Y 1LU.



THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF GENERAL PRACTITIONERS

requires an **EXPERIENCED SALES PERSON**

to sell College medical record cards, publications and a variety of other goods, both by post and over the counter. The successful candidate will be methodical, meticulous, good-humoured, able to work under pressure, and have a flexible approach to working hours. An ability to type is a necessary requirement. The post is answerable to the Head of the Information Service.

Salary £5,700-£6,000 (incl.)
For further information and an application form, please contact Ms J. Mullins, 14 Prince's Gate, Hyde Park, London, SW7 1PU. (Tel: 01-581 3332 ext. 219).

EDITOR
ARTISTS NEWSLETTER

Part-time (10 days a week), to work with two others in Sharncliffe office on the national magazine. Must be interested in visual arts, crafts & photography. For 0400. Please send CV to: Editor, Artists Newsletter, 10 West 20, Blandford Square, W1 8LJ. Deadline March 15.

PR CONSULTANCY
seeks young **ACCOUNT EXECUTIVE**

familiar with London's Jewish community, with proven writing and communication skills. Contact Walter Nelson on 01-727 6404

Chief Executives Department Promotion and Community Relations Unit

It has been decided to strengthen the present centralised Promotions, Press and Public Relations service and to bring together resources from various service departments throughout the Authority. The Promotion section of the Unit covers the area of promotion, marketing, graphic design and photography. The promotion of the City will be geared to attracting inward investment, creating employment opportunities and marketing the City Council's services. Major projects will be supported by the Unit including plans for a Road Race on the City streets, the launching of the new Convention Centre, and trade missions abroad.

Assistant Promotions/Marketing Manager

£14,013 - £15,042

To be responsible to the Marketing Manager, to assist in the general promotion of the City and particularly the activities and events organised by the Recreation and Community Services Department's Officers, ensuring a corporate approach to promotional material. To liaise with advertising agencies and other outside organisations. Applicants will be graduates with at least five years experience in a marketing/promotional environment. Quote Reference 13/606.

Candidates may obtain application forms (returnable by 22nd March, 1985) and further particulars from Personnel Section, Chief Executive's Department, Council House, Birmingham, B1 1BB. Conveyancing will disqualify. An Equal Opportunities Employer.

BIRMINGHAM CITY COUNCIL

NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY CURATOR GRADE G

Curator Gs work in various NPG departments as assistants in Press, Publications, Exhibitions, Registry and the Archive. This vacancy is in the Archive at Carlton House Terrace but there may be opportunities in future to gain experience of other departments.

The main duties include mounting and filing photographs as well as answering queries by letter and telephone and helping visitors. Basic typing, or a willingness to learn, is essential.

The job is permanent, pensionable and subject to a probationary year. A strong interest in British history and art history is essential. The salary is on the national scale £5020 to £7336 (including inner London Weighting).

Application forms and more details are available from the Secretaries Office, National Portrait Gallery, St Martin's Place, London WC2H 0HE (01-530 1552). The closing date is 19 March and interviews will be held at the Gallery on 2 April. Start as soon as possible.

An Equal Opportunity Employer

Merseyside Arts

VISUAL ARTS ANIMATEUR

Merseyside Arts requires an experienced practising visual artist to work in the region's schools, colleges and community centres. The person must have organisational and teaching skills and be able to arrange workshops, lectures and demonstrations. The appointment is on a three year fixed term contract. Closing date for application 18 March 1985.

For further details contact: The Visual Arts Office, Merseyside Arts, Bluecoat Chambers, School Lane, Liverpool L3 5BX. Tel: (051) 709 0671

DIAGRAM
EXPERIENCED EDITOR

to work as illustrated reference books for the international market. Please apply for writing to: Ruth Sedgwick, Diagram, 160 Tottenham Road, London NW5.

PRODUCTION CONTROLLER

required for busy trade publisher based in Covent Garden. You should be experienced in all aspects of advertisement and book production, highly organised and work well under pressure. Salary £7,500 p.a. Ring Lyons Gregory on 01-579 7005.

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BBC

Television Features Bristol contributes to BBC 1 and 2 a wide and varied range of programmes. To sustain our output, we need innovative ideas from across all areas of programme making.

Contract opportunities exist, for varying periods, in the Unit at both the Assistant Producer and Researcher level.

ASSISTANT PRODUCERS

£9,348 — £12,660
Plus allowance of £916 p.a.

Applicants should be resourceful and imaginative programme makers who are qualified to degree level or equivalent and already have experience in broadcast television production. Successful candidates must expect to work on film and electronic output, both on location and in the studio. Initially however, the majority of time will be spent working in film. (Ref. 1129/GU)

RESEARCHERS

£7,699 — £9,552

Applicants should be qualified to degree level or equivalent and have undertaken research work for successful television and film projects. Successful candidates must expect to work, over a period of time, on all aspects of the Unit's output. (Ref. 1130/GU)

FREELANCE TELEVISION PRESENTATION ANNOUNCER

Newcastle

£10,750 — £14,559

BBC Newcastle produces a nightly news magazine and twice weekly feature programmes. We are looking for a Presenter who will be required to write and read announcements and promotion material for these programmes and to read news bulletins. May also be required to contribute items to the nightly news programme and will also operate a continuity console. An effective microphone voice and the ability to write good linking material are essential, together with the ability to work under pressure. A journalistic or theatrical background is desirable. (Ref. 1136/GU)

Radio Times

ART ASSISTANT

London West End

c. £8,000

Plus 4% shift allowance

To join a team responsible for the preparation of artwork and layouts for specific programme or feature pages in the Radio Times. A BA in Graphic Design or equivalent is essential. Previous experience as a layout artist, preferably on a magazine, would be an advantage. Completed application forms must be returned by Friday, March 15th. (Ref. 2109/GU)

Salaries currently under review. Relocation expenses considered for permanent posts. Contact us immediately for application form (quote ref. and enclose s.a.e.): BBC Appointments, London W1A 1AA. Tel. 01-927 5799.

We are an equal opportunities employer

**Advertising Assistant for campaign planning**

London Up to £9,792

The Central Office of Information wishes to strengthen the small team which plans and implements government advertising campaigns for the Home Publishing Group.

Joining as Assistant Information Officer you will keep a detailed progress check on advertising material, assess and — where necessary — query media cost schedules, and possibly run local area campaigns, assessing results and implementing effective budgetary control. You will of course be closely involved with advertising agencies and with the information branches of government departments.

To be considered, you should preferably have experience of working in an advertising agency or in the advertising or marketing sections of a client company, and have a sound knowledge of account planning procedures and media. Experience of handling government or public sector advertising would be an advantage as would be an understanding of research. You will need to be able to work within a computerised management accounting system.

Starting salary: within the range £7,317 — £9,792 according to experience and qualifications. There will be prospects for promotion. Benefits include 22 days annual holiday.

For an application form please send a postcard to the Central Office of Information, Room 158, Atlantic House, Holborn Viaduct, London EC1N 2PD, quoting Competition Number 219/NC/85. The closing date for returned forms is 28 March 1985.

The Civil Service is an Equal Opportunities Employer

medeconomics

the financial and business monthly for GPs has a vacancy for a first class

JOURNALIST

The successful applicant will have experience in magazines or newspapers, a flair for detailed research, excellent writing skills and an ability to make complicated material accessible to a busy, professional readership.

The job will require primarily of feature writing but candidates must demonstrate all round journalistic skills including sub-editing and headline writing. There may be the opportunity for the right person to take a proportion of some responsibility on the magazine.

Experience in medical and/or business journalism is desirable but not essential. We are looking for a journalist with a proven interest in these fields, who can develop and maintain a wide range of relevant contacts. Salary will depend upon experience.

Applicants should send a CV and covering letter to: Marion Downey, Editor, Medeconomics, 30 Lancaster Gate, London W2 3LP.

COMPUTER SYSTEMS

the leading UK journal for the computer professional needs an

Editorial Assistant

The successful candidate is likely to have a degree in computing, engineering or a related field, as well as a good command of English. He or she will be involved in all aspects of writing and producing this leading monthly magazine for the computer systems industry.

The successful applicant can expect full training in journalistic and magazine production skills. A basic grasp of the subject is desirable but not essential. A competitive salary will be offered, together with a generous benefits package. For further information write giving details of education and any relevant experience to: Rob Farmer, Editor, Computer Systems, Testaments Publishing, Walton House, 93 High Street, Bromley, Kent, or telephone 01-280 8866.

LIVERPOOL PLAYHOUSE**PUBLICITY OFFICER**

To take overall responsibility for the major theatre's publicity and marketing policy. Energy, imagination and previous publicity/marketing experience are essential. For further details please write to: Sharon O'Leary, Liverpool Playhouse, 140-142, Liverpool L1 1SL. Tel. 0151-248 9471. The successful candidate will be interviewed and previous applicants will automatically be re-interviewed. Closing date for applications: 22nd March, 1985.

The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty**Publications Manager**

The National Trust is seeking an experienced manager to be responsible for its publications. Reporting to the Director of Public Relations, the job holder advises on publication policy and is responsible for its implementation.

The maintenance of high quality and standards are particularly important. The main fields of responsibility are:

1. Publishing and editing the National Trust Magazine;
2. Producing in-house literature, including guide books and other material for the information of members and the public;
3. Contributing to a book publishing programme in conjunction with established publishers.

Candidates should be graduates, aged about 40, with extensive relevant experience and a sympathy and understanding for the ideals of the National Trust.

Salary c. £15,000.

Please write, enclosing c.v. to:

Margaret Harris,
Personnel Assistant,
The National Trust,
36 Queen Anne's Gate,
London, SW1H 9AS.

Closing date: 25 March 1985.

**HUMBERSIDE COUNTY COUNCIL EDUCATION COMMITTEE**

Hull Division Adult Education Service

COMMUNITY ARTS PROJECT

Professional Director and 2 Community Art Workers

Salary: Professional Director — Further Education Lecturer II Community Arts Workers — 80% Further Education Lecturer I

Applications are invited from well qualified candidates for a position in this Community Arts Project, serving a large urban area in North Humberside. Applicants for the posts must have training and experience in a selection of the following arts areas: fine arts, graphics, photography, film, video, drama, dance. It is expected that the Director will have proven experience in Community Arts as well as managerial and teaching experience.

All appointments are for 11 months in the first instance and will be made subject to the final approval of the Project.

Application forms and further particulars may be obtained from the Divisional Principal, Hull Adult Education Service, Adult Education Office, Dane Park Road, Hull HU6 8DV. Telephone Hull 855184. The closing date for application is 10 days after this advertisement.

All applicants are considered on the basis of their suitability for the job irrespective of disability, race, creed, sex, or marital status. Disabled candidates whose applications have the written support of their DRO will be guaranteed an interview.

GRADUATES!**LOOKING FOR YOUR FIRST JOB?**

For lots of immediate vacancies plus advice and information on job hunting you need *Graduates Post* every fortnight — the only newspaper specifically for you.

For a year's subscription (24 issues) just send a cheque for £12.00 or for 6 months (12 issues) £7.00, or write for subscription form and sample back-issue to: The New Opportunity Press Ltd., Dept. G, 78 St. James' Lane, London W10 3PD. Telephone: 01-444 7381. Cheques payable to: The New Opportunity Press Ltd.

BRITISH ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS**PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER**

(Salary £12,298 — £13,211 p.a. if social work qualified or £14,203 — £15,265)

BASW has created a new post of Public Relations Officer to join its professional staff group. We have recently re-organised our staffing arrangements with the aim of demonstrating more clearly BASW's crucial contribution to policy-making and standards of professional social work practice. This is an exciting time for the Association and we have created this post to ensure greater awareness of BASW among social workers, managers, policy-makers and the general public. If you have:

substantial public relations and/or journalistic experience, experience or knowledge of the personal social services, the personality for an active rather than a reactive approach to public relations

Please phone John Cypher, General Secretary on 021-622 3911 for informal discussion. The post, which is for an initial 2-year period with the possibility of renewal, can be either London or Birmingham-based but with travel between the two offices. If London-based, London weighting will apply. BASW operates a contributory pension scheme and leave, travel and subsistence provisions are all related to those applying to local government staff. Closing date 15 March 1985.

BASW**RESEARCHER/REPORT WRITER**

The British Safety Council—

a registered charity and the largest industrial safety organisation in Britain with in excess of 25,000 companies in membership — is seeking a graduate with proven research and report writing skills.

The successful applicant — ideally in his/her 20s — will be responsible for telephone contact with members to ascertain their evaluation of the Council's services; research into their needs and into areas which the Council could usefully exploit; and the presentation of reports in informative but crisp form with recommendations by the writer.

The successful candidate will certainly have a pleasant yet persuasive telephone manner — a warm personality that will extend along the telephone line; an investigative mind and accurate note-taking and typewriting skills.

Salary will be by negotiation according to skills. Send yourself to us by writing fully with CV and details of posts held to data. David Moore, Marketing Manager, British Safety Council, 62/64 Chancery Lane, London WC2A 1BS.

**GENERAL MANAGER**

Since 1982 Brookside Productions has established itself as a company on Merseyside employing 100 people, producing the twice-weekly drama series "BROOKSIDE" for Channel 4, with an audience of 6 million.

The Company is now looking for a suitable person to act as General Manager, reporting directly to the Board of Directors. The successful applicant will preferably have experience in television production with an awareness of issues facing independent television companies. The qualities required include the ability to communicate clearly and motivate a highly intelligent and committed staff, while managing resources to allow the achievement of creative goals within tight budgetary guidelines. This is an exciting and demanding position with attractive salary and conditions.

Please apply in writing, with full c.v., to: The Chairman, Brookside Productions Limited, 43 Brookside, West Derby, Liverpool L12 8BA. WE ARE AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES EMPLOYER

PRESS OFFICER

The Association of London Authorities wish to appoint an experienced Press Officer. We are seeking someone to build upon the success the Association has already achieved in promoting the policies of its members to the news media. This challenging position calls for a dynamic individual preferably with experience or knowledge of the Local Government scene. Editorial and production skills would be an advantage.

SALARY UP TO £14,574

Application forms are available from:

CAROLINE STRALLEN,

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER,

THE ASSOCIATION OF LONDON AUTHORITIES, ROOM 692, COUNTY HALL, SE1 7PB

Completed forms are to be returned by March 15th 1985.

The Association of London Authorities is an equal opportunities employer and welcomes applications from persons regardless of race, sex or disability.

Association of London Authorities **A.L.A.**

U.K. TRADE SALES MANAGER

SPECIALIST PUBLISHING

After a lengthy period of major expansion, Graham & Trotman are taking on a U.K. Trade Sales Manager. This is an interesting new opportunity for a person with two-four years experience in book representation or book-selling.

The Manager will be totally responsible for all U.K. Trade Sales. He/she will visit all major sales outlets within the U.K. and there will also be some college, library and institutional selling. Up to 50% of the time will be spent travelling. Graham & Trotman's lists cover the Earth Sciences, Oil & Gas Technology, Other Technical Lists and Business, Finance and Legal Publications. In addition the manager will be involved with an important range of business management titles from the American Management Association.

The post will suit a hard-working and well-organised person in their mid 20s who wishes to make a career advancement. In view of the specialist nature of the list, a graduate is preferred. Salary is negotiable depending on experience, and a car is provided. Full details of your academic qualifications and career to date should be sent to: Ian Pulley, Marketing Director, Graham & Trotman Limited, 66 Wilton Road, London SW1V 1DE.

PERSONNEL EXECUTIVE**Deputy Editor**

Personnel Executive has earned a high reputation for providing lively and authoritative coverage of all aspects of personnel and training to a knowledgeable and largely senior management readership.

We seek a journalist with a good general knowledge of personnel combined ideally with expertise in one or more facets of personnel, training or employment.

You would join a small team of professionals — researching and writing news and feature material, and assisting with aspects of editorial production. Long term prospects within the AGB group of publishing companies are excellent.

Please write, giving succinct details of relevant qualifications, knowledge and experience, to: Philip Schofield, Editor, Personnel Executive, AGB Business Publications, Audit House, Field End Road, Eastcote, Ruislip, Middlesex HA4 9LT.

Classified Sales Manager

The Manchester Evening News, lively, successful, and with a trend-beating growth in daily sales, covers a market 790 square miles in size.

Having effectively zoned into four local editions, we are actively pursuing fresh revenue opportunities across all our advertising categories.

We are looking for an outstanding Sales Manager to lead our classified advertising department, currently handling the biggest classified volume in the country. We want someone who can lead from the front, with drive and a determination to succeed; someone who is not afraid to be measured by results.

We expect to see high abilities in the sales training areas; good organising strength; plenty of new ideas for revenue growth; experience in motivating large groups of people who sell by telephone or in the field, and an aptitude for sales figures and marketing statistics.

Exciting future prospects exist for the right person who will be joining a small but determined team of professional sales managers. In return we offer an excellent salary, company car, and first-class fringe benefits.

Write giving full details to:

THE GROUP PERSONNEL MANAGER (G)
MANCHESTER EVENING NEWS
164 DEANS GATE, MANCHESTER M60 2RD

Manchester Evening News

Britain's biggest regional newspaper

PROGRAMME EDITOR—THAMES NEWS

Thames News is the London area's longest running, most successful, nightly local news programme.

To fill this key editorial position, the successful candidate will need to be attuned to the Thames area, have several years' television experience, a keen journalistic interest in hard news and an ability to manage a complex news operation.

If you feel you are the person we are looking for, please send a full CV to arrive no later than Friday 15 March 1985.

Thames is an equal opportunities employer.



Peter Fiske,
Senior Personnel Officer,
Thames Television Ltd.,
306-316 Euston Road,
London NW1 3BB.

KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA EDITORS

An English language daily newspaper, published in RIYADH and circulating throughout the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and abroad, is offering long term (desk) EDITOR appointments.

The responsibilities will be editing news, reports, specialist subjects and features — language usage / correction and import. Experience sought: at least 10 years with a national newspaper and preferably a significant spell working overseas. Good educational backgrounds will be taken into account. Successful candidates are not likely to be under 35 years old.

Salary (tax free) negotiable. Benefits include furnished flat or an allowance in lieu, opportunity for families to join later, 30 days annual leave, air tickets and free medical care.

Interviews in the UK within one month of this advertisement date. Please send full C.V., quoting minimum salary expectations (envelope marked EDITORS) to:

ALYAMAH PRESS ESTABLISHMENT
RIYADH DAILY, P.O. BOX 25845
RIYADH 11476, KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

Hertfordshire County Council in association with the EASTERN ARTS ASSOCIATION Arts Development Officer

£8,477-£11,025 plus £192 Weighting Allowance

Applications are invited from persons with appropriate qualifications and ideally experience of working in the arts, for the above post based at Welwyn Garden City Library. The appointment, to run from April 1985 or as soon as possible thereafter, is for an initial period of one year with possibility of renewal. Forms and further details from Margaret Wallis, Training/Personnel Officer, Hertfordshire Library Service, County Hall, Hertford SG13 8EL. Closing date — Monday 18 March 1985.



Hertfordshire County Council
An Equal Opportunity Employer

MOTOR CYCLE WRITER BIKE MAGAZINE

Do you dress sharply, have a good speaking voice and a love of healthy outdoor activities? No? Who cares? Bike, the UK's top selling motor cycle monthly, needs an experienced journalist with a strong personal style to produce features, road tests and general stories. A knowledge of motor cycles and a clean full motor cycle licence are essential, although a car licence as well would be an advantage.

Good salary, usual freebies, blags and foreign trips etc. etc. . . . yawn.

So write with full career details to: Brecon Quaddy, Editor, Bike Magazine, 2 St. John's Place, St. John's Square, London EC1M 4QX.

BEACON PUBLICATIONS PLC

require

FREELANCE EDITOR

A freelance Editor is required by leading directory publisher of Middle East title, for general duties of updating information listings. Must be self-motivated and have a keen eye and a bright mind. Experience in travel industry an advantage. Hours to suit in agreement with publisher. Write enclosing your c.v. to Ken Hughes, Publisher, Beacon Publications PLC, PO Box 130, Northampton NN4 4EZ.

Head of Electronic Graphics

ITN

- With the change from traditional techniques to electronic technology Independent Television News needs an experienced and imaginative designer to fill this exciting new post. Good communication skills and organisational flair are needed to lead the company through this transition and to extract the maximum flexibility and creativity that the latest techniques offer.
- The successful candidate will be responsible for the day to day running of the graphics department, working alongside other designers and specialists including producers, directors and reporters. News is a fast moving and immediate environment and so applicants must be able to work quickly and decisively under pressure.
- For such a challenging and senior post ITN will be looking for considerable design experience, together with proven leadership qualities.
- Salary will be dependent on experience.

Applications, enclosing a CV, should be sent as quickly as possible to: Manager, Computing & Graphics, Independent Television News, 48 Wells St., London W1P 4DE

ITN is an equal opportunities employer.

Writer/ Sub Editor

'What's new in Building' the UK's fastest growing building monthly requires an energetic, speedy Writer / Sub Editor.

We want someone who can write short, crisp product items for a discerning audience of top UK building specifiers, including architects, and who has a practical knowledge of sub-editing and layout.

A good salary will be offered, together with a range of benefits including 4 weeks' holiday, rising to 5 with service, contributory pension scheme with free life assurance and subsidised staff luncheon club.

For further details please contact: Derek Hoiler, Editor, 'What's new in Building', Morgan-Granplan plc, 30 Calderwood Street, Woolwich, London SE18 6QH. Tel: 01-855 7777.

Art Editor Yachting World

Have you the flair to handle the creative direction and monthly make-up of the world's leading Yachting Journal? Have you got the eye to get the most from the world's best colour photography? Are you experienced in magazine production and used to working to deadlines?

If the answer is 'yes' you could be Yachting World's next Art Editor. All terms and conditions of employment will be in accordance with the Business Press International/NUJ Agreement.

Telephone the Editor, Dick Johnson on 01-661 3864 or write to him at Yachting World, Room L506, Business Press International Ltd., Quadrant House, The Quadrant, Sutton, Surrey, SM2 5AS.

Business Press International is an Equal Opportunities Employer

BUSINESS PRESS INTERNATIONAL

TECHNICAL REPRESENTATIVES

for specialist furniture and services sales to Hospitals, Industrial Research, and Education Laboratories in the Midlands, South and West. Experienced in sales, able to conduct high level discussion and capable of organising own programme of work. Car and expenses. Salary depending on experience. Applications in writing to: Birtwell Ltd, 43-45 High Road, Bushy Heath, Herts WD2 1EE. Quoting our ref: M4.3.

ADVERTISEMENT SALES

Based in Tonbridge, Kent
Major publishing company Benn Publications Ltd is currently recruiting for a trained telesales representative to join its classified sales advertising department. Good salary plus commission. Please contact Mrs. Paula Lightfoot, Benn Publications Ltd, Sovereign Way, Tonbridge, Kent, or telephone 0732 364422.

TOURIST INFORMATION

RECEPTIONIST, aged 18-25, needed for busy centre in Victoria. Must be available 18th March-27th Oct inclusive, have excellent knowledge of London and England and speak two European languages (in addition to perfect English). Various posts (22-31 hrs pw) between 07.45 and 22.30 Mon-Sun c.£3.31 ph + allowances where applicable. Ring 01-730 3458 ext 267. CASHIERS also needed 24 hrs pw. £2.61 + ph.

FILM PRODUCTION AND FACILITIES COMPANY

is looking for an enterprising SECRETARY/ADMINISTRATOR for their 1st office. Typing essential. Knowledge of accounts and film industry preferred. Salary negotiable according to experience. Vacancy from Easter. Ring 01-294 2384

Secretarial appears on page 18
More Creative Appointments appear on page 20

THE BHAVAN CENTRE INSTITUTE OF INDIAN CULTURE

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

to give full clerical support to small staff team in its lively Indian Arts Centre.

BOOKSELLER-SHOP MANAGER

to our new book-record shop as integral part of the Centre's activities. For full job description and salary details write to: The Executive Director, The Bhavan Centre, 46 Chesham Road, W14 9HQ. Full applications to be received by March 25th.

TIME OFF BEFORE COLLEGE?

Picture Librarian, Mayfair Publishing House, needs a conscientious but lively assistant with some typing. Age circa 18, from mid-March for a fixed term contract (8-12 months), £5,500 pa plus lunches. Please contact: Sally Wood on 01-493 5847, ext 251.

Information Officer

A new role with an Authority taking a highly original approach. The very creation of the new senior appointment of Information Officer is tangible evidence of Arun District Council's innovative and pro-active approach to the needs of its community; an approach which goes beyond the confines and strictures of a council's traditional role.

The man or woman who takes up our brief must therefore be a highly experienced and formally qualified information specialist, aged 30+, who has both the "technical" expertise and the professional presence to initiate, maintain and develop the Authority's public image from basics, acting as advisor to Council members and Senior staff on the best methods of promoting the Authority and its services, with particular emphasis on press coverage.

Your application must, above all, carry evidence of success in press relations, of developed communications skills, both verbal and written, and of creative thinking that can match our own. Experience of the Public Sector is by no means essential.

Starting salary will be in the range £11,250-£12,243, together with generous removal and resettlement allowances. A location on the South Coast, backed by the Sussex Downs, including seaside resorts and the historic town of Arundel, promises an attractive lifestyle.

For further information and application form, please contact the Personnel Officer, Arun District Council, Council Offices, Littlehampton, West Sussex, BN17 9EP. Tel: Littlehampton (0903) 716133 Ext 201.

Closing Date: 27th March 1985.

Arun DISTRICT COUNCIL

Editorial Opportunity

DEPUTY EDITOR for GIRL MAGAZINE

Britain's liveliest magazine for 10-14 year old girls needs a second in command. He/she must have a feel for fiction and be able to originate ideas for photostories, as well as to sub and commission them. Pop, features and fashion are also important elements in the publication and the successful candidate will be expected to contribute in all areas. Above all, the deputy must be able to take full responsibility during the editor's absence.

Salary in line with NUJ agreement.

Write with c.v. to John Harding, Group Editor, New Generation Group, IPC Magazines Ltd., King's Reach Tower, Stamford Street, London, SE1 1LS.

We are an Equal Opportunities Employer.

ipemagazines

UPITN

INTERNATIONAL TELEVISION JOURNALIST

UPITN, the international television news agency, requires a Story Editor for its weekly current affairs programme "Roving Report".

Duties include research, production and writing of feature-length stories (8 to 25 minutes) on subjects of international affairs for a worldwide audience. A wide knowledge of world affairs are essential requirements.

The successful candidate will join a small, London-based team. Salary according to NUJ House agreement, currently approx. £15,500 p.a.

Please apply in writing to:

Mr. J. W. Crossland, Manager, Documentaries
UPITN
31-36 Foley Street
London W1P 7LB



EXPERIENCED PRODUCTION ASSISTANTS

Brookside Productions Limited is looking for Experienced, 2nd or 3rd Year Production Assistants to work on the twice-weekly drama series "Brookside" for Channel 4. The ideal candidates will be flexible and capable of working under pressure. Suitably qualified applicants with film and video continuity experience in non-broadcast companies will also be considered.

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THE COST OF THE MINERS' STRIKE 1984-1985

The final account of a family that lived on pride

A POT OF potatoes is boiling away in the kitchen. As long as I have a sack of potatoes I know we have got a meal, even if it's a plate of chips," Pat McDonald said. Her husband, Colin, a miner at what was once called Europe's most productive pit—Killingley in North Yorkshire—will only go back marching under an NUM banner.

"The Coal Board and the Government have taken a lot of things away from us. They have taken away our right to move around the country, they have taken our social security, they have bombarded us with propaganda, but what they are not going to take off me and a lot of men like me, is my pride and my dignity," Colin said.

The feeling is shared by many of the men who went back to Killingley last week, their heads bowed and some

with tears in their eyes. The only difference is the length of time they have been able to live off £25 a week.

Colin, Pat and their two young children, Jamie, aged five and Leon, two, started the strike 12 months ago with one advantage which many of their neighbours do not share—a clean financial sheet. They had paid off the car, the stereo, and the television. Their house belonged to the council, and Wakefield Metropolitan District Council "being Labour-controlled," Colin said, was prepared to forgo the rent.

But even with a £500 loan and endless meals from Pat's mother, Mrs Dorothy Westwood, a part-time cleaner, and Pat's sister Lynne providing the children's clothing, the family's weekly income of £24.75 (the sum of the supplementary benefit and family allowance did not go far.

Within months Colin had exhausted £800 he had saved before the strike, sold his life insurance for £200 and stopped payments of £72 a month on a loan of £1,200, which the Yorkshire Bank had been more than willing to freeze. Their eldest son, Jamie, got free school meals even during the school holidays, and the soup kitchen at the miners' welfare club provided up to three meals a day. Life on strike soon took on a rhythm of its own.

Before his second court appearance, the day would start at three in the morning, as Colin and his friends would drive down in groups of four to picket the pits in Nottingham, for which he was paid £2 a day from strike funds. Pat would walk the children in the pram four miles to her mother's house in Pontefract.

Then the violence started,

and with it, Colin's brush with the police. His first picket was at Parkside Colliery in Lancashire. "If you got down in big enough numbers you could picket them (the working miners) out. They used to walk out of their buses and we could talk to them, but once the Coal Board decided to put a stop to it, that was the end of that."

"We always had a good shove with the North Yorkshire bobbies and they would enjoy that. But then the London Met officers came up. They took their helmets off, put their arms inside and used them to club pickets to the ground. It was amazing. The first time I saw that I just stood there. I had been brought up to respect the police. I would have said that a thing like that could not happen in England in 1984. The chief

inspector was screaming at his men to get back in line. It was quite obvious he had lost control of his men."

As someone who had personally campaigned for Arthur Scargill's presidency of the NUM, Colin could easily fit the bogey image of the angry picket, intimidating working miners with the threat of mob rule. Unfortunately for the image, Colin is also a member of the Mines Rescue Team at Killingley and as committed to his pit as he is to the strike.

It was as he was trying to restrain fellow pickets outside Killingley, that he got hit from the back by a policeman—an event witnessed by the local MP Geoffrey Lofthouse who was also knocked down before being dragged by the throat across the forecourt in front of the television cameras.

In Killingley, a community close to the pit but, with two other industries, by no means wholly devoted to housing Killingley's miners, the tension got so bad, that the local police duly introduced a "community" policeman, who has since been writing polite notes on Colin's transit van parked illegally on the grass verge outside his house. Colin cannot help drawing a political conclusion: "Personally I think the police were a toy of the Government. They soon lost their neutrality but at the end they must have been fed up of being away from home, because their attitude hardened. They were like tyrants."

Winter set in and with it the need to get in fuel, illegally picked from outcrops of coal usually to be found in railway embankments. Colin said: "If the worst

came to the worst, I said I would sell the television, the stereo, everything rather than go back."

His wife Pat interrupts: "He still don't think he should go back. He has been out this long. He should only go back if they win." Curiously the political air in North Yorkshire is not full of recrimination.

Colin, a member of the local constituency Labour Party that will have no difficulty in reselecting a moderate Labour MP, does not blame the Labour leadership for lack of support. Neil Kinnock could have been "more active" in supporting the strike in speeches, but Colin is more disgusted with the TUC who "crawled" to Mrs Thatcher's Lobby, however the Labour Party's membership has risen sharply during the strike.

"It will be the railwaymen

that Thatcher will attack next," Colin said. It would only be then that the country would see the consequences of the miners' defeat.

And after 12 months of hardship, two court convictions, and the prospect that no jobs had been saved by their action, did Colin consider it had all been worth it?

"Yes it has been worth it for a simple reason that the principle of the strike is as just today as it was when we went out on the first day. If we had got Nottingham out on strike, all the members of the union, there's no doubt about it, we would have won. We have lost, but it's been an expensive lesson for all concerned."

David Hearst

The cost to the pits

Dangers that lie in wait

RON PRICE, who was sometimes accused of scaremongering by the NUM as the miners' strike progressed, says he takes no comfort from the fact that his dire warnings of underground catastrophe in some collieries have proved correct.

As the NCB's head of mining for the past year, he said last September that "things can only get steadily worse—some pits more quickly than others. It's a depressing picture for the dedicated to this industry."

This weekend Mr Price, who has been with the Coal Board for 33 years—starting as a miner at Cannock Chase in Staffordshire—coolly ran through what has become known as the other "casualty list." "We were accused of exaggerating the true position, scaremongering, when we warned of the danger to pits after they have been idle for this length of time—there has never been a production break this long before—but events have proved we were right."

It is a depressing picture: of the 490 coalfaces in the country, 38 have been "lost" over the past year—simply abandoned with machinery through geological problems or spontaneous combustion and often sealed off. The already vulnerable Scottish (12) and Welsh (10) coalfields are worst affected. In addition, 22 salvage faces—areas where production had ceased and miners were retrieving equipment—have been lost, along with one development face in South Wales while a further 18 working faces are officially giving "serious cause for concern."

With the average colliery containing about three faces, the instant conclusion is that the equivalent of 12 pits have been lost, although Mr Price dismisses such analysis as "a bag of tricks."

But he does not underestimate the financial cost to the NCB. The Board is currently assessing the position in the hope of making a provisional calculation shortly. The average face costs £2 million to equip with hydraulic roof supports and coal shearer, so the "as new" replacement value of the 38 lost faces would be £76 million.

No one is in any doubt that Scotland, with probably the toughest area management, has emerged as the main casualty of the dispute: its 12 lost faces represent one-third of Scottish deep mine coal capacity. Three pits have actually been lost altogether—one was abandoned in the overtime ban which preceded the strike and the future of a fourth, Seaford in Fife, is in doubt.

Consequently, around 3,000

of the 12,000 Scottish mining jobs are at risk, and the area management has even suggested that the industry's generous redundancy terms, for so long trumpeted by the Energy Secretary, Mr Peter Walker, may not apply. It has even floated the idea of compulsory redundancies.

But the main task of Mr Price and his colleagues is now to concentrate on a resumption of production—and no one expects normal output to be achieved until the end of this year.

Many collieries have been denied proper safety cover for a year, with members of the deputies' union, Nacods, who undertake safety work, refusing to cross picket lines. Hard-pressed members of the third coal union, the British Association of Colliery Management, have been left to pick up the pieces. While they have ensured that most pits are safe for entry, plant and equipment—from conveyors, to underground trains, hydraulic supports, coal shearers and road headers—has remained idle. Some is badly corroded and rusted, while hundreds of crucial supports, which hold up a roof on the face, have been forced down to the collar by geological pressure. They will have to be dug out, presenting greater dangers to men underground.

But the main danger—and Mr Price is in no doubt that a return to work will herald more danger—will come from the threat of spontaneous combustion, or "burning" as it is known, caused by oxidation or a leakage of air. Much attention will focus on the coalface, considered the most vulnerable area, where continuous movement through coal cutting removes much of the danger by swamping potential air passages with coal and debris.

The entrance to every colliery, and the areas around the pit cages, are now plastered with posters proclaiming: "Start Safe, Stay Safe." Special information packs and videos have also been prepared, as instant refresher courses for the men who have been away from the pits for so long.

"The first thing we will think about is the safety of the men underground," insists Mr Price. "That is no platitude—it has to be our prime concern. All my working life has been spent in the pits. I am not just speaking for myself but speaking for management generally. There is general concern and dedication for the industry and we all want to get back to the business for which we were trained producing coal. But I don't want to get emotional."

Peter Hetherington

The cost to the country

The three thousand million pound bill

THE MINERS' strike is the most expensive dispute Britain has ever experienced. The final bill is not known, but it looks as though it will be at least £3½ billion. That represents nearly £140 for every working person in the country.

Mr Scargill's claim that it has cost the nation over £5 billion is probably correct as an approximation of the gross loss to economic output (about one per cent), but it does not allow for the fact that there will be a "catch up" period when the strike is over. The cost not mined during the strike (which reduced Gross Domestic Product compared with what it would otherwise have been) is still there to be hewn when the dash to rebuild stocks begins. By shifting some 1985 £5 Scargill's strike will have the unintended effect of producing and accelerating expansion in the fourth year of an economic upturn.

The main extra cost has been the need to import fuel oil and coal for power

stations which has cost the balance of payments around £3½ billion. Oil is 50 per cent more expensive than coal, but was needed because the Government and the electricity authorities decided at an early stage to attempt to ride out the strike by bringing into action all the "uneconomic" (if one is allowed to use that word) oil-fired stations. This underlines one of the ironies of the strike: Mrs Thatcher could never have attempted to win but for one of the great planning blunders of the Sixties—the dash to build oil-fired power stations misbegotten assumption that the world was entering an era of cheap oil.

The £3½ billion extra cost of oil and coal imports is irretrievable in that it has all been used. But the electricity industry has probably saved about half of that sum through not burning so much coal and through reducing its stocks. Similarly the coal industry's lost output (estimated at 70 million tonnes worth £3½ billion by stockbrokers Simon and Coates),

has been offset by £2.2 billion in reduced wages.

The cost to public expenditure (on an extrapolation of Treasury figures) is about £1.9 billion to the end of February. But this, of course, cannot be added to the balance of payments figure since much of it is double counting being composed of borrowing by the electricity and coal industries to buy extra imports. About £1.2 billion is the cost of extra nationalised industry spending, and most of the rest is the cost of extra policing and social security payments.

Economic growth during the strike was reduced by around 1½ per cent, but some of this will be recouped in 1985 if the NCB decides to rebuild stocks to something like their previous levels.

These assumptions are largely based on Treasury figures—which have become more realistic since the Chancellor's statement in the summer that the cost of the strike thus far had been £350 million (a serious underestimate even then),

and that this was a worthwhile investment for the nation "even in narrow financial terms."

The most authoritative independent estimates of the cost of the dispute (the first miners' strike to involve so much computer power) also put the net cost in the region of £3 billion. Gavyn Davies, the chief UK economist of stockbrokers Simon and Coates, says that this is the cumulative cash cost (ie extra outlays less savings) up to the end of February. He adds that knock-on costs in 1985/6 (like repairs to damaged pits, backlog of investment and restocking) could add nearly £700 million. He estimates the total loss to GNP at 2 per cent and the cost to the balance of payments at over £2½ billion.

Paul Ormerod of the Henry Centre (which prepared a survey for Newnight) says that the net cost has been £3 billion in exchange for which (if the rationalisation goes through) the Government would get savings of about £250 million a year for the

next decade. The permanent loss of output is likely to be about 0.9 per cent of Gross Domestic Product.

None of these estimates attempts to embrace some of the hidden costs of the strike like the increases in the crime rate in areas from which police had been diverted. Nor do they attempt the even more difficult exercise of quantifying the extent to which the strike may have depressed the value of the pound.

In ordinary circumstances, a year-long coal strike would have certainly depressed sterling but this year has been complicated by two factors.

On the one hand, if all this leads to a sea change in the attitudes of other unions to pay claims, then future inflation will be lower than otherwise and unemployment could be higher.

Whether the Government—if it had known in advance that the strike was going to cost over £3 billion—would have embarked on the confrontation in the first place, is quite another question.

fore kept the pound up rather than down.

To the Government, of course, the biggest cost—in electoral terms—would have been to take on the miners and be seen clearly to have lost. As it has turned out a political victory has been won at a cost—over £3 billion—so large that it will take many years to recoup from economies within the coal industry. This is particularly so if you add in the unemployment, redundancy and social costs of financing unemployment in pit villages.

On the other hand, if all this leads to a sea change in the attitudes of other unions to pay claims, then future inflation will be lower than otherwise and unemployment could be higher.

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Victor Keegan

The cost to our freedom

The year of taking liberties

RIGHTS and liberties have been an emotional issue in the propaganda battle in the miners' dispute—notably the right to work, the right to move freely round the country, the right of assembly, and freedom from arbitrary arrest.

The Government and police have concentrated mainly on preserving the right of miners to work if they want to and to be free from intimidation. The National Union of Mine-workers and its supporters have concentrated on police road blocks, restrictive bail conditions, and provocative or high-handed action by the police.

Ministers and some lawyers argue that traditional British policing methods and legal procedures have been vindicated and that the civil liberties of both working and striking miners have remained largely unscathed during the dispute.

But opposition politicians, other lawyers and the National Council for Civil Liberties are calling for a judicial inquiry into the way they feel the police and courts have imperilled liberty by extending their normal range of action to cope with the pressures of the dispute.

The first right which came into question was the right of assembly. The NUM, of men to break the strike and work. The police, by mobilising large numbers of men, have managed throughout the strike to get men to work past mass pickets. They have also used road blocks to prevent people reaching mass pickets.

This happened first at the Dartford Tunnel, where Kent police ordered men to turn back, under threat of arrest, that they thought the men were travelling to the Midlands coalfield. The same method was used in Nottinghamshire to prevent pickets entering from Yorkshire, and the Chief Constable there said 16,000 men were turned back in 27 weeks.

The High Court ruled last December that one of the Nottinghamshire road blocks was legal, but endorsed the view of the miners' lawyers that a considerable number of turn people back in this way if he reasonably believed a breach of the peace was going to take place soon and nearby.

Some legal commentators have concluded that the Dartford Tunnel operation, which was halted by the Kent police after several days, was an example of the police going beyond their powers.

In some areas, strike-breakers found they were being intimidated and their property damaged. Police quickly set up special teams to deal with this, and some serious criminal charges are awaiting trial.

People arrested on picket lines often found that police asked for and magistrates granted, restrictive bail conditions. Restrictions of various kinds are commonly set, but some miners found themselves obliged to live away from home while awaiting trial, for example.

In a test case in the High Court, it was argued that the courts were failing to consider each defendant's circumstances. The judge backed the magistrates' actions.

One complaint is that police have arrested miners indiscriminately on picket lines. Bail conditions banning further picketing have then been imposed, but at a later date charges have been dropped or substituted by a "bind-over" to keep the peace. Last week the serious charge of unlawful assembly was withdrawn in over 80 cases.

Ms Louise Christian, a solicitor who has represented miners, said that this sequence of events amounted to a "back-door" ban on peaceful demonstrations. The only charges of unlawful assembly to reach Crown Court so far were dismissed by a jury in Sheffield recently.

The High Court has also ruled that mass picketing in

South Wales and South Yorkshire was unlawful because it infringed the right of working miners to be free of nuisance and harassment. Mr Justice Scott said that six pickets—the number suggested in a Government code of practice—was the maximum.

Mr Nick Blake, barrister, commented that the judge was effectively making the code into law. This was symptomatic of the way the courts in England—in contrast to Scotland—had abandoned their traditional caution about intervening in trade union affairs.

Graham Zellick, professor of public law at Queen Mary College, University of London, said he is concerned about the legality of some of the road blocks and the implications of the latest High Court ruling. Other civil liberties had been "fairly unscathed."

No special powers have been enacted, no special forces like the army have been drafted in, and none of the equipment deployed which police would have used in other countries, such as water cannon.

Mr Alex Carlisle QC, Liberal MP for Montgomery, and a member of the Parliamentary civil liberties group, said he admires the way ordinary policemen have behaved and that "the behaviour of the NUM and the mobs has been scandalous."

But he said the police lost their sense of proportion when they sometimes used 2,000 officers to get two men to work. He thought it bad for public confidence in the law for police to dredge up "antiquated offences such as 'watching and besetting,' 'unlawful assembly' and 'riot.' The public order laws should be put on a modern footing, he said, and a judicial inquiry into the legal aspects of the strike on a new Royal Commission on the police were needed.

Mr Clive Soley, MP for Hammersmith and Labour's spokesman on the police, said the Government chose to use the police rather than its own new laws making secondary picketing a civil offence. "The police were left to find offences to fit the circumstances, which is why archaic nineteenth century laws were rediscovered," he said.

"With the road blocks and the dramatically extended bail conditions, civil liberties have suffered and the climate is much harsher and more restrictive. The Government has used the police to deal with the results of its failure to deal with industrial relations policies."

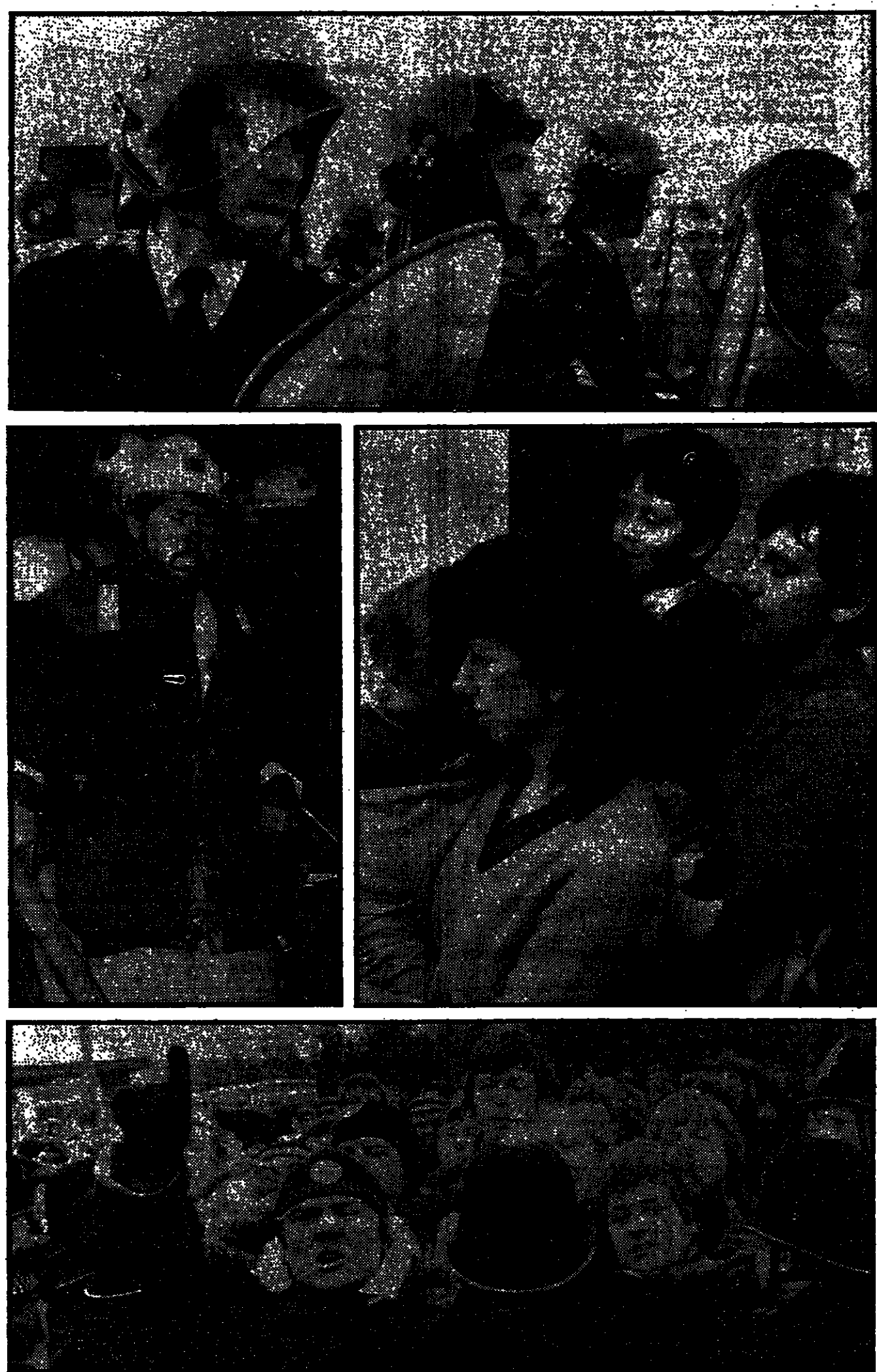
Mr Robert Reiner, lecturer in the sociology of law at Bristol University, said it was inevitable during collective conflicts that police discipline would be eroded and individual liberties would be infringed. "There is clear evidence of assembly line justice," he said.

"But I'm doubtful there has been a broad move towards a stronger state. We should see what's happened as a departure from a norm which must now be restored. I'm more worried by a change in the style of the police, who seem less concerned than before to achieve peaceful resolutions in situations where both sides have some rights."

The Home Secretary, Mr Leon Brittan, has resisted the argument that civil liberties have been undermined and pointed out that people with grievances can go to the courts or file formal complaints against the police. The Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, was prompted by the violence in the strike to order the Home Office to accelerate its review of public order law. New legislative proposals are expected soon.

There is speculation that these will include a new police power to move, but not to ban, static demonstrations. In its interim report last year on events in the miners' strike, the NCCL appealed that "the strike should not be used as an excuse for precipitate legislation restricting civil liberties."

Stephen Cook



Two sides on the picket line (top and bottom); Colin McDonald and his family (centre right); miners back at work at Killingley pit, North Yorkshire (centre left)—picture by Don McPhee and Denis Thorpe

Handwritten text in Arabic script: "بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم"

Tap, tap—who's there? I'm sorry, you can't ask that



OUT OF COURT

Geoffrey Robertson

IN A REMARKABLE demonstration of the counter-productive consequences of censorship, the IBA has placed the political agenda just in time for Wednesday's opening of the Government's new Communications Bill. The curious measure purports to impose legal controls on mail

and telephone interception, but its true purpose is to effect will be to remove them entirely from any scrutiny by the courts. It is a law, in other words, to place State surveillance above the law.

That, of course, is where much of the stands at the present. The Government has been forced to introduce the Bill because the European Court of Human Rights has held that interception by unreviewable warrant of the Home Secretary is a breach of the European Convention's guarantee of privacy.

The Bill seeks to answer this criticism by giving the Home Secretary statutory power to do precisely what he does already but to permit a tribunal of five lawyers to investigate complaints that he has not done it properly, or that it has been done without his approval. The tribunal is there to ensure procedural correctness in certain forms of interception: it cannot judge the merits of the decision to target persons or organisations. It may inspect the Home Secretary's signature, but it cannot look over his shoulder.

The Bill will not satisfy those who believe that secret State surveillance should be conducted within strict

guidelines. For a start, it applies only to interceptions of messages "in the course of their transmissions by post or by means of a public telecommunication system": the wide and technologically wonderful world of bugging devices is entirely excluded.

Decisions to plant bugging devices in private homes, or to use directional microphones, can pose much graver threats to privacy. Nor is there any legal requirement for a warrant when consent to open mail or tap telephones is granted by "a person occupying the premises" — in other words, by any landlord.

Moreover, warrants need not relate to individuals: they can apply generally to "premises" occupied by one or several organisations, employer, or government department.

The Bill provides that the Home Secretary may issue a warrant if he considers it necessary "in the interests of national security," for the purpose of preventing or detecting "serious crime," or to safeguard "the economic well-being of the United Kingdom" from actions of persons abroad.

There are no definitions of "national security" or "serious crime": the Home Sec-

retary remains the unappealable judge.

The Tribunal cannot take issue with his decision: a warrant is necessary if the Home Secretary "considers" that it is necessary. A crime is serious if the Home Secretary thinks that it is serious.

Doubleless to emphasise that the Tribunal's task is largely procedural, it is to comprise five barristers or solicitors who will investigate complaints from members of the public. It is empowered to award compensation if it discovers that an interception has not been authorised either properly or at all.

But it will not be able, for example, to tell a CND member that his or her phone has been tapped if the Home Secretary has duly approved this particular interception. Nor will it be able to award compensation if it discovers that a damaging and unauthorised misuse has been made of properly intercepted communications.

Anne McHardy, the Guardian journalist who claims that the transcript of a conversation with her husband was disclosed to a public relations officer (who then drunkenly told her about it), would have no right to compensation for the invasion of

her privacy if the Home Secretary had approved the original tap.

The Bill carefully removes the Tribunal from any form of legal scrutiny. It is not even permitted to give reasons for its decision, unless it actually discovers an unauthorised interception. Its decisions are not just unappealable: Section 7(8) of the Bill excludes them from the ordinary processes of judicial review.

That there should be a Tribunal at all is of course an improvement on the existing position, as are the statutory powers given to a Commissioner drawn from the higher judiciary to monitor intercept procedures generally. But no amount of monitoring by lawyers can disguise the fact that what is being monitored is the procedure for warrant applications, and not the merits of making and granting a particular application.

The most objectionable clause in the Bill actually destroys the existing right to raise issues about telephone tapping in the courts. Clause 9 provides that in any proceedings before any court "no evidence shall be adduced and no question in cross-examination shall be asked which tends to sug-

gest" that any state employee has tapped a telephone or opened mail, whether authorised by warrant or not.

The scope of this clause is breathtaking: no matter how relevant the evidence may be to the defence of a person accused of crime, or to the resolution of civil litigation, the issue simply cannot be raised.

It is ironic to recall that this Bill is only being introduced because of a European Court decision in the case of James Malone, who discovered his own tap through a question asked in court, and who challenged the legality of the interception in civil proceedings before the House of Lords. Clause 9, if passed, would have been a High Court judgment depriving the law of its own logic: there would have been no ensuing case in the European Court.

There would have been no interception of Communications Bill either. If Parliament has any concern for liberty and justice, Clause 9 at least must be rejected.

But the fundamental criticism of this Bill lies in its conception rather than its

drafting detail. Why make the Home Secretary, an over-stretched and highly political figure, the sole decider of an individual's right to privacy?

Once the law lays down the conditions upon which a warrant should be issued, those who seek it should approach the courts for a determination as to whether the application fulfils these strict conditions rather than simply ask a busy politician whether he "considers" the interception "necessary."

There is no shortage of appropriate models. West Germany has a system which provides that phone taps may only be installed when a judge is satisfied that there is imminent danger of serious crime. All intercepts are delivered directly to the judge, who decides what relevant sections should be handed over to the police, and the whole system is supervised by an all-party committee of MPs.

The Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure recommended that warrants should be obtainable from judges on carefully defined grounds, with the additional safeguard of the presence of a lawyer instructed by the official solicitor to take any objection appropriate on behalf of the proposed surveillance target.

These systems are more rational and effective than one which pivots upon a politician's approval, however many lawyers are subsequently involved in perusing his paperwork.

The abiding curiosity of the British approach to interception by this Bill is that the fruits are never used in court as evidence to convict those overheard planning serious crime.

If application were made to a judge for a warrant on the basis recommended by the Royal Commission, there could be no objection to introducing tapes and transcripts in support of a prosecution, just as evidence obtained under a search warrant is regularly produced. Even in national security cases, society would be better protected if warrants were granted by judges rather than politicians.

Just as Home Secretaries may be tempted to authorise surveillance of their political enemies where national security is not involved, so they may refuse to authorise interception of political allies when national security really is at stake.

Geoffrey Robertson is a barrister and editor of the "Out of Court" column.

TWO FAMILY types are doing moderately well even in times of recession. First, those in the private sector concentrated in small towns and rural areas, in small factories and offices in newer manufacturing and service industries. They are moderately well-off, but in unions or staff associations dominated by local bargaining, relatively unconnected to national unions, the TUC or the Labour Party. They tend to be owner-occupiers and to contribute to private pension and life insurance schemes.

Because of their predominantly manual origins many still vote Labour. They may be committed to the education and health services, but as for the rest of the Welfare State they are uneasy. They suspect the poor of encroaching on their, the Taxpayers' money. These are still ordinary households whose interests do not lie with the rich. But unless Labour recaptures an ideology which resonates in their life experience, their defection to the Conservatives or the Alliance will continue. I call them the moderately prospering fifties.

The second type, also moderately prospering, are predominantly in public employment or in such large-scale, traditional manufacturing as steel, chemicals, and aircraft. They are concentrated in cities, are heavily unionised, and their unions dominate the national labour movement.

Like the first type, they may be manual or non-manual. They may be owner-occupiers or council tenants: they are likely to be in employer pension funds. Their respectability is culturally working-class rather than bourgeois. They are the moderately prospering Labour core, in activism and in voting.

There is a third type which consists of households of the poor, predominantly outside the reach of the organisations of the Labour movement, either because they are non-unionised single-parent households (usually women), because they are unemployed, or because they work in exploited but unorganised service and casual industries.

The problem here, though traditional, is worsening. First, the number of people involved has been greatly increasing. Second, their defence of the Welfare State may be weakening in the ways in which the humiliated dependants of the Welfare State they have been stripped of some of the rights of social citizenship. While their interests obviously lie with an extension

Hatching out a future—the small business family type that Labour needs to capture

Can Labour make social citizens of us all?

MICHAEL MANN



of the Welfare State, their relative isolation makes them a political. These welfare dependants are unreliable supporters.

Labour can continue to attract the support of the second type, especially the public sector and the inner cities, almost indefinitely. It can probably continue to get as much support from the third as any other party. Some of the first type will stay through sentiment and conscience.

If we constructed a shopping-list of policies to appeal to members of all three social groups, we would end up with a rag-bag. "Labour core" voters trap the Party into dihard job protection-

ism. "Welfare dependants" are never chased hard for their votes, since they are not an effective lobby. But to do this alone would alienate the other groups.

Something more is needed, an ideological offensive finding a common socialist thread in the aspirations and deprivations of the three types of family. I suggest that we require an ideology of social citizenship, rooted in Labour traditions yet capable of being up-dated to deal with the post-war trends of free citizens.

Social movements rest on ideologies in broad visions of how society is and how it ought to be. The present Conservative Party believes, falsely, that it possesses such an ideology. Of the three

family types identified earlier, it strikes effective chords only among the "moderately prospering fifties."

Against this, Labour can mobilise a more formidable ideology. Labour is not for curing rather than wealth. In fact democratic socialism is a superior theory of how wealth is created in modern society; through a fair society based on the cooperation of free citizens.

I suggest that Labour has a potent, popular weapon available through its ideological traditions. Social citizenship guarantees adequate participation in economic, social and cultural life as of right. The right to citizenship means an absolute right, no questions asked, no tests

of worth or of morality, required.

True, it has never been fully implemented. It may even be quite utopian in its fullest ideals. But it has more resonance than its Tory opposite — selectivity of citizenship and benefits only to those in need, as defined by the state's surveillance machinery — simply because in the modern society we are all closely inter-dependent, all susceptible to the same vagaries of fortune.

Naturally, social citizenship requires up-dating. Indeed, its strength as an ideology is precisely that it can overcome the varieties of experience which have grown up in the post-war period. The particular policies which would be both just and popu-

lar among the three main types of family I identified would be many, detailed and varied. But their common aspect involve basic rights of citizenship, some in their details old, others new.

In the sphere of employment the right to work should follow from citizenship. In macro-economics this involves a commitment to Keynesian or monetarist principles. In social policy it might involve measures such as a guarantee of employment (though not in present job), a minimum wage, and participation in decision-making, and adequate care facilities for children, the elderly, and the disabled (so that women and single-parents can work if they wish to). In housing, citizenship should guarantee basic standards of housing and control over it.

In the sphere of welfare, citizenship should guarantee an adequate standard of health and economic security, regardless of ability to work and with a minimum of state surveillance over eligibility. In detail this might involve the provision of a national minimum for all, regardless of circumstance.

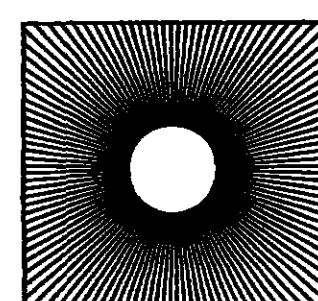
Policy details are outside of my scope here. In any case the Labour Party is at present fertile in specific policy (as even the last Manifesto showed). But policy should stem from a broad ideological vision, to fire activists and attract mass support.

Policy should be built on top of a simpler, more universal, more radical understanding of citizen rights to enhance the power of the ordinary person and family against the power of big capital and state bureaucracy alike. Like all socialist ideals, that of social citizenship can be formulated in relatively mild or revolutionary terms and can inspire countless "left versus right" disputes.

We can no longer plausibly glorify the industrial proletariat as the serious force that state ownership solves much. Indeed we need to distance ourselves in principle from self-styled "socialist" regimes which do just that. The tradition of social citizenship has welded together apparently-disparate groups in the past. It can do so again.

I make one further claim: such an ideology can help unify Right and Left. The failure to face the present has been common to both. This is an extract from *Social Change and Socialism*, published last week by the Fabian Society at £1.50. Michael Mann is senior lecturer in sociology at the London School of Economics.

Flying with Cupitt



FACE TO FAITH

Christopher Driver

AFTER the Synod and the Sea of Faith (see page 12), the small back room. To be precise, round a table in the Waterloo Room of the Waldorf Hotel, where a picture by Joseph Farquharson depicted a string of snow-bound sheep. Don Cupitt, the radical Dean of Emmanuel, Cambridge, had come to bury metaphysics in a very English way, over a cup of tea with the godly end of Fleet Street.

His campaign to eliminate the last trace of supernaturalism from religion (not just Christian) thought and practice is rounded off with the publication this month of *Only Human* (£5.95), which the SCM Press have dressed to match its predecessors, *Taking Leave of God* and *The World to Come*. And if his publisher John Bowden plans similar seminars for his other spring authors (including the Bishop of Birmingham and the universe and Peter Mullen with the positive statement of the Guardian's correspondence column has been demanding of him), they have a hard act to follow.

As a book-cruncher and phrase-collector, Cupitt is as unorthodox as Marshall McLuhan in full flow. Even the terminology connects them: for Cupitt, Christianity is a "hot" religion, Buddhism a "cool" one and he prefers the "internalised ethic" of the latter to the "externalised cosmology" of the former. (So does Clive Ponting.)

The new book conducts the reader through all the sciences, from geology to anthropology, that have taken their place in the idea of the sacred over the centuries. It finishes with "the only act of transcendence now possible, the 360 degree turn. This — literal — revolution takes the pilgrim back with fresh eyes to the one thing needful: the neighbour, the next step, the present moment, and the primacy of the ethical."

In an appendix on the future of religious thought, Cupitt chooses out of Christianity's forgotten themes "the Way of Purgation, its dislike of outward show and preference for everything that is austere, hidden, and subjective. We want religion to be a severe inner discipline without any consolations whatever. The colder and clearer the better. There must be no more pixie-dust."

For the national church which he serves as an ordained priest in the intellectual front line that is Cambridge, Cupitt wishes not the sectarian strictness enjoined by London, Norwich and other episcopal opponents (from opposite wings) of fudge and sledge, but traditional inclusiveness, plus the sense of explosive poetry and alternative thought-ways which he detects in the New Testament before imagination hardens into doctrine and doctrine into the law of the land. The fundamentalism that is currently gripping different parts of the world is "religion" without spirituality.

The revivalist preacher knows nothing of the Bible: he has merely projected his own dogmatism and his small-town prejudices upon it. (So there, Ronald.)

Looking up at the snow-bound sheep, we asked if he would recommend this curricular to bishops. "I have every sympathy with them. They're expected to manage people and to teach things whatever their actual beliefs. It's highly immoral — but very common in the Church of England — to expect your priest to do your believing for you, allowing yourself to score 3 out of 10 while expecting him to manage at least 7 or 8."

Most church debates are hung up on language, hard

though it is after the linguistic revolution to see how we could have supposed it possible for an idea or creed to transcend the world of language and culture with which it is supposed to communicate.

"I am trying to recapture," Cupitt said, "some of the force and plainness of language that the Reformers had. Taking Leave of God nearly put me in a mental hospital. I spent every day for ten weeks tearing up the day's work and then on September 13 I was digging my allotment and it all descended." He didn't seem to notice the unreconstructed spatial metaphor and went on, "Every time I did it, I really understood what I'd written till a year or two after."

As Clifford Longley of the Times (playing for the Realists) and Cupitt (playing for the Anthropomorphists) the ball to and fro I had an image not of a Sea of Faith but of a slowly disintegrating raft on which the "saved" supernaturalists think they can safely jockey for position because they are underpinned by metaphysical planks called Being, or for that matter not-Being.

The sea, by contrast, is a metaphor for everything there is, and Cupitt, though perhaps not too many others — is prepared to take his chance swimming and communicating in it till a bigger fish turns up to swallow him.

I asked him if he could ever see himself writing a hymn. In other words, could he articulate in plain Reformation language a yearning or aspiration that others could share in an act of post-structural Christian worship?

The reply revealed the man. He said that as most people would have done, behind incapacity as a versifier or liturgist. The problem, he said, would be his existentialist background.

Yet there was a note of mostly sympathetic — to answer after the Sea of Faith series, as happened to John Robinson after *Honest to God* 20 years back. Bowden remarked that fundamental debates about what Christianity is occur in the Church of England at roughly 20-year intervals. Of course they are never resolved, nor in most pews (and pulpits) even understood. The Bishop of Birmingham (Hugh Montefiore) in his forthcoming book *Worship and Reality* can still imagine God making the manuscript and agrees that it represents a much higher quality of back-lash than previous generations of progressive theologians came to expect.

But for Cupitt, whatever made the world, the making of God is our own work, our Supreme Fiction. He sounded a little wistful about his publisher's 20-year intervals. The trouble is that every time round, the radicals have to travel a little further than the conservatives. "And some of my students are already accusing me of being too timorous."

Christopher Driver is the former editor of the *Good Food Guide*. Readers are invited to write a hymn, accommodating Don Cupitt's theology, with the first line (and to the believing for you, allowing yourself to score 3 out of 10 while expecting him to manage at least 7 or 8). The *Face to Faith* editor, c/o The Guardian, by Monday, March 18.

Whatever Harry's game was, trust is the loser

Trevor Blackwell

LAST week one of my closest friends and colleagues, Harry Newton, was named by his Cathy Massiter in a banned television documentary as the MIS agent who had infiltrated the Communist Party. She added that he had been recruited by the Intelligence Services in the 1950s.

I first met Harry Newton when I began teaching at Fircroft College, a residential adult education college where he was senior tutor. During the 1970s we became close friends, not least because we were caught up together in an attempt to reform which cost us both our jobs. We spent innumerable hours discussing the meaning of life, the problems of Marxism and the difficulty of knowing anything for certain about how the world works.

Harry had a fund of marvellous stories, which he told with great relish and perfect timing: about the gas strike during which he was subsequently left when he subsequently left work to study at Leeds University, a defeated and exasperated management told him that they would have built him his own bloody

energy and his insights. And throughout all this, we were told, he was spying on us. The first response is disbelief, anger and numbness. It's just preposterous. Harry, of all people. And the phone starts and the anger is channelled into a protest by his family and friends and colleagues who demand that these allegations about Harry should be substantiated or withdrawn. It is only after the phone stops ringing that the full horror of what is happening comes home.

For once the accusation is made, once the eerie world of espionage is invoked, once power and knowledge are linked together in this particular way, a sinister transformation takes place. Suddenly the past begins to unravel backwards from the point of "discovery". Everything with a dialectical logic that the Marxist in Harry would have relished, is transformed.

The fact that Harry maintained such a wide network of friends and associates in the Labour movement ceases to be a tribute to his personal warmth and intense involvement in radical politics, and becomes instead the professional shrewdness of an information collector; his inspiring speeches become the machinations of an agent provocateur; indeed, every appearance of innocence is

transmuted into the cunning with which this agent maintained his so effective cover. How can we prove that anyone is innocent of the charge that they set out to deliberately deceive their closest friends and colleagues? And who is not capable of behaving in contradictory and bizarre ways, of having some areas of their lives hidden from others, and above all from their friends?

The fear of betrayal releases deep, elemental anxieties which reach back to our childhood vulnerabilities. Some sufferings are unavoidable. In a sense, all growth and development involves betrayal. But what are we to make of this night-mare which our modern society has willed upon us, how are we to comprehend this deliberate manipulation of our personal problems and individual neuroses by the state? Are we not betrayed sufficiently often by our lovers and friends, in the trivial deceptions of everyday life, or the more particular disappointments of high-days and holidays, that we need the government to add its own quota?

We have to ask what is happening to Britain in 1985 when those whose politics are no more subversive than being involved in a trade union, or working for the

Labour Party, or supporting the idea of nuclear disarmament, discover that they may have been spied upon by their friends and colleagues. It was not so long ago that it was described as left wing paranoia to believe that we were living in a police state; we were told that we were fooling ourselves with delusions of our own importance if we worried that our phones might be tapped. Who is now so sure? We were warned that a party which came to power under a strong, dominant leader, and with a fierce ideological mission to transform the very texture of our lives, would destroy the values in the English way of life and undermine the very fabric of our democracy. But how was it that no-one ever mentioned that that party would call itself

Conservative? Back in 1974, when the dispute at Fircroft College was at its height, I attended a meeting with Harry to try to gain support for keeping the college open. Harry was a gifted orator, and not for the first time, he seized the attention of the meeting with his opening comment. "I know from my years in politics," he said, "that in every meeting be it ever so large or small, there is always a

spy." He paused, the audience hushed and still before him. "Now all I ask of the spy who is here this evening is that he report me correctly, so that I shall only be attacked for what I have actually said."

If I can no longer know for certain that a man who devoted his life to the service of his people, who won my trust as close and intimate friend, was not spying on me and reporting our philosophical speculations to MIS, then are we not living in a police state even now? Where are the vaunted freedoms, the democratic rights, which we brandish as the sign of our superiority over the totalitarian states of the East?

Whether Harry deceived me or not I do not know. What I do know is that the ones who have truly betrayed us are those in government, who have so subverted the genuine and democratic qualities of English life that no-one can know for certain that their best friend may not be spying on them.

Is the spy reporting Harry Newton correctly now? Trevor Blackwell teaches politics at the University of Fircroft College. His book *With Jeremy Seabrook* on the history of the post-war working class will be published by Faber in the autumn.

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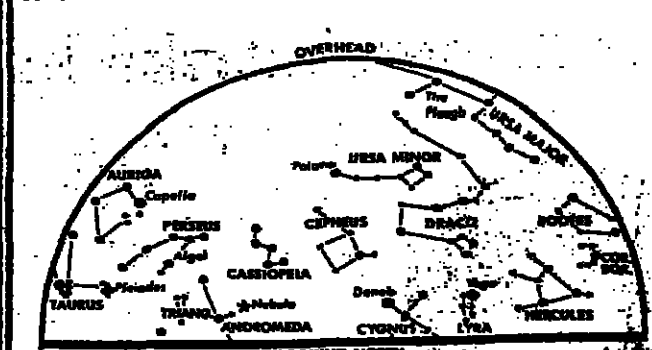
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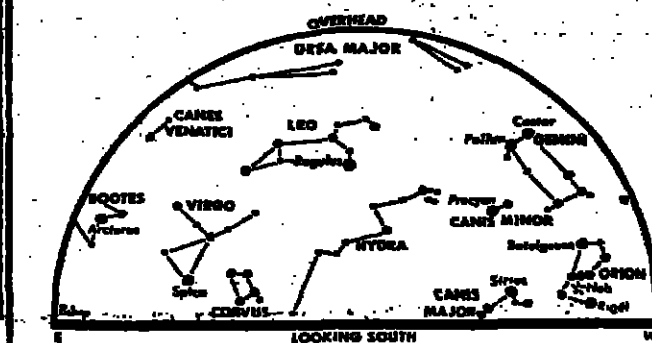
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THE NIGHT SKY: March 1985



The maps show the brighter stars as they appear at 23.00 GMT on March 1, 22.00 GMT on March 16 and 21.00 GMT (22.00 BST) on March 31.



Something shocking

by Alan Pickup

THIRTY THOUSAND light years away, in the far south of Britain's summer midnight sky and beyond the star, gas and dust clouds in the direction of the constellation Sagittarius, lies the nucleus of our Galaxy. The Sun and its planets rotate about this point every 220 million years or so at a speed of 250 km per second, but light is obscured by the intervening clouds, and only infra-red and radio waves penetrate to provide a complex and confusing picture of the Galaxy's core. A knowledge of conditions there could provide important clues to the energetic events taking place in quasars and at the centres of other galaxies.

The latest batch of observations and speculations, presented at a meeting of the American Astronomical Society held in Tucson, confirm that the nucleus probably lies close to (and may coincide with) Infrared Source 16 (IRS 16), one of several hot spots in the central region of the Galaxy. Tom Geballe and others at the UK Infra-red Telescope (UKIRT) in Hawaii reported infrared spectroscopic studies showing what they believe is hydrogen streaming away from IRS 16 at about 600 km per second. This "wind", amounting perhaps to several times the mass of Jupiter each year, appears to sweep the central 10 light years of the Galaxy relatively free of material.

Ian Gatley and a second team of astronomers at UKIRT have found what they claim is a rotating ring of hydrogen molecules, tilted 30 degrees to our line of sight, which would be "invisible" were it not being shocked through collision with this outflowing gas. They argue that the wind blows away from a single "exotic" object, probably IRS 16, some 40 million times more luminous than the Sun. This might be a super-massive star or a black hole, either of which could be re-fueled by accreting material falling inwards against the wind. Radio observations show swirls of plasma near IRS 16 which may be falling inwards, though other researchers at Tucson argued that these swirls are in orbits about a central black hole about four million times more massive than the Sun.

Venus shines brilliantly at magnitude -4.8 some 34 degrees above the west-south-western horizon at sunset now, setting in the west-north-west about four hours later. At a distance of 22 million km, the disk of the planet is 40 arc seconds across and 26 per cent sunlit, with the small, brilliant crescent plainly visible through binoculars. As Venus travels the arc of its orbit between the Earth and the Sun, its elevation at sunset plunges to 3 degrees in the west-north-west on March 31, when it sets less than one hour after the Sun, lies 42 million km away, and has a crescent 59 arc seconds tall but only one arc second thick. Keen sighted, naked-eye observers might be able to discern the crescent of Venus later in March.

Mercury joins Venus as an evening star for much of the month and sets more than 80 minutes after the Sun between March 7 and March 26, fading from magnitude -1.1 to 2.2 during this period. Mercury reaches its greatest elongation of 18 degrees east of the Sun on March 17 when it is magnitude -0.2, 106 mil-

lion km distant. 7 arc seconds in diameter, 50 per cent sunlit, and 8 degrees below Venus in our evening twilight.

Mars lies 5 degrees below Venus now, but the two planets separate rapidly as Venus moves towards the Sun and Mars continues its east-north-easterly motion from Pisces into Aries. It sets in the west-north-west at about 21.30 GMT on March 1 and at 21.40 GMT (22.40 BST) on March 31, fading slightly from magnitude 1.3 to 1.5 as its distance grows from 312 million to 339 million km.

Saturn rises in the east-south-east by 01.00 GMT as March begins, two hours earlier at the end of the month, and lies 15 to 20 degrees above the horizon at your latitude in the south four hours later. At magnitude 0.4, becoming 0.3, it is a bright, slow moving and non-trunking object four degrees to the south-east of the fourth magnitude star Gamma Librae. Saturn's eastwards progress halts on March 7 before beginning a westwards motion which will carry it through opposition with the Sun in May. It lies 1.41 million km from us at mid-month, when its oval disk measures 16 by 18 arc seconds and the ring system measures 16 by 40 arc seconds.

Binoculars are needed to view Uranus, at magnitude 5.6 in Ophiuchus, and Neptune, even fainter at magnitude 7.9 in Sagittarius. They rise in the south-east at about 03.00 GMT and 04.00 GMT respectively, 10 to 15 hours earlier by the month's end.

Jupiter, emerging slowly from the dawn twilight, rises in the east-south-east some 65 minutes before the Sun now and 100 minutes before sunrise on March 31. At a conspicuous magnitude -2.0, it is now moving east-north-eastwards in the constellation Capricornus, and has a distance of 800 million km at mid-month.

The Moon passes 3 degrees south of Saturn on the night of March 11, lies 12 degrees to the left of Venus on March 23, and 2 degrees above-left of Mars on March 24. The magnitude 2.3 star Delta Scorpii is occulted by the Moon on the morning of March 12. The star disappears at the bright eastern limb of the Moon at 04.44 GMT as viewed from London, and reappears at the dark western limb at 05.57 when twilight will be flooding the sky. Times of disappearance / reappearance for other locations: Plymouth 04.39/05.53; Birmingham 04.41/05.54; Manchester 04.41/05.53; Belfast 04.36/05.48; Edinburgh 04.40/05.50. The Moon is low in the south at the time of the occultation, which is best observed using mounted binoculars or a telescope.

Diary

*Times are GMT except where stated otherwise.

Mar. 7 02h. Full moon.
Mar. 7 23h. Saturn stationary.
Mar. 11 23h. Saturn 3deg. N of Moon.
Mar. 12 05h. Moon occults star Delta Scorpii.
Mar. 12 06h. Venus stationary.
Mar. 13 09h. Uranus 2deg. N of Moon.
Mar. 13 16h. Moon at last quarter.
Mar. 14 12h. Neptune 5deg. N of Moon.
Mar. 15 22.16 Minimum of Algol.
Mar. 17 02h. Jupiter 5deg. N of Moon.
Mar. 17 07h. Mercury at greatest elongation E (15deg).
Mar. 18 19.05 Minimum of Algol.
Mar. 20 16.14 Vernal equinox.
Mar. 21 12h. New moon.
Mar. 22 18h. Mercury 6deg. N of Moon.
Mar. 22 18h. Venus 12deg. N of Moon.
Mar. 23 02h. Mercury 5deg. S of Venus.
Mar. 24 01h. GMT = 02h. BST. Start of Summer Time.
Mar. 24 13h. BST Mars 1.4deg. N of Moon.
Mar. 29 17h. BST Moon at first quarter.

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Victor Keegan

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Figure	Relating to
year	September
year	March
year	May
year	November

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Everton's quartet playing a title theme



SOCCER COMMENT

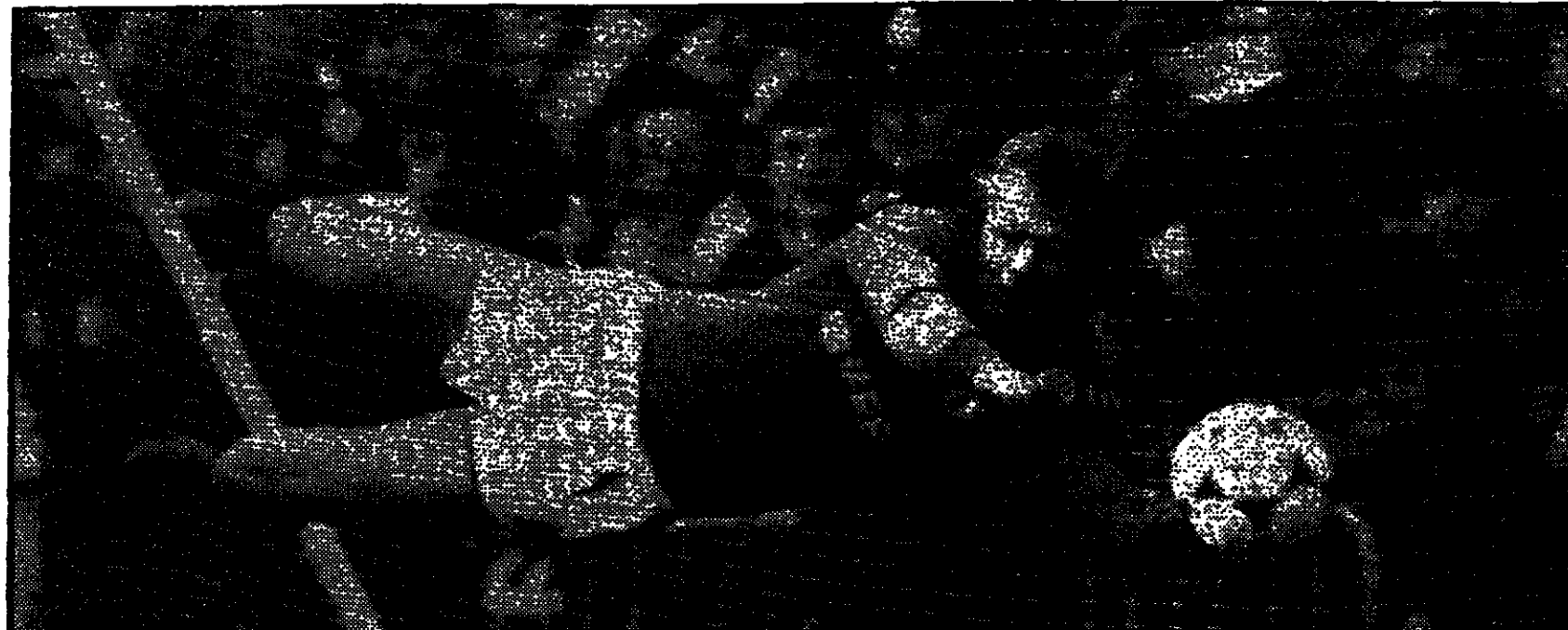
David Lacey

AT LAST the earth has started to move. Just when the top of the First Division was beginning to resemble a giant video game, with plenty of lurid action but no depth, Manchester United and Everton produced a match at Old Trafford on Saturday fit to rank with the more memorable confrontations which in the past have marked the run-in to the League championship.

It was a game that opened with a penalty missed and ended with a penalty saved, a game that contained, not the elegant class of classic football perhaps, but the passionate exchanges of teams hungry for victory and scornful of settling for anything less.

Both sides were prepared to play attacking football in their contrasting ways. United by running with the ball as taking on opponents in individual battles of wit, Everton by passing it accurately and finding space with intelligent running. The match was rich in incident and excitement and the least spectacular part of the afternoon was the result, a 1-1 draw.

Failure to win has further diminished United's chances of winning the title for the first time since 1907. They remain seven points behind Everton for whom a draw would have been a highly satisfactory outcome were it not for the fact that a scrappy victory at Stoke has enabled Tottenham to reduce



SPOT PRIZE... Bailey earns plaudits and a point by saving Sheedy's late penalty at Old Trafford

their lead at the top to two points. Moreover, Everton must be starting to suspect that they are really being stalked by Liverpool whose threat grows less distant every week.

The immediate outlook is vague because of the uncertain state of the fixture list over the next fortnight. If the three lingering FA Cup fifth round ties are not decided tonight the ensuing confusion could see some crucial League matches crammed into unlikely spaces and this could dilute the flavour of what is becoming a compelling contest.

At the moment Spurs are due to meet United at White Hart Lane a week tomorrow, with Everton playing Liverpool at Goodison Park the following night. But these games depend on the FA Cup quarter-finals being completed over the weekend and they, in turn, can only go ahead if the fifth round is completed this week.

Whatever happens it is clear that the four clubs still

seriously involved in the struggle for the championship will face growing demands on their playing resources over the next couple of months. The championship often becomes as much a matter of logistics as statistics and the winners will be the side which has coped best with injuries and the vagaries of form.

On the evidence of Saturday neither Manchester United nor Everton is about to retreat to count their wounds. Everton, with playing staff shallower than their rivals in terms of both numbers and experience, continue to show an ability to improvise and adapt which few suspected they possessed.

Having lost Heath for the season they are now operating without another important attacking prong, Sharp, who is seeing a specialist about his damaged ankle ligaments today. Yet on Saturday they were able to recall Curran and use his natural attacking instincts to support Gray, who had an excellent afternoon apart from missing a clear chance early in

the second half—as he moved into the opposing penalty area with the canny instincts of an old cavalry horse who knows how to make for the hole where the last shell landed.

Essentially, however, Everton's performance was another triumph for the balance and mobility of their midfield. Their manager, Howard Kendall, made Bracewell his outstanding player and while one could not argue with this it was the unit of Steven, Reid, Bracewell and Sheedy that swung the match. Everton's way after United had dominated the first half. So long as these four players remain fit, Everton are going to take a lot of stopping.

United are still playing with the feverish determination which has become a feature of their football ever since they lost their leader, Bryan Robson, in mid-January. But on Saturday they were responsible for the game's best moments of pure skill, such as when Strachan,

who seemed about to be caught in possession near his own penalty area, turned away from a clutch of Everton players and raced clear with the ball at his feet. His pass gave Olsen the chance of a shot but the Dane chose to pass square to Brazil and the speed of Southall off his line stopped a goal.

Olsen scored not long after this. An early ball forward from McGrath found Van den Hauwe moving out too late to play Brazil offside, the Scot showed deft control as he sent Olsen in on the left and while the Dane struck his shot well it still needed a slight deflection to beat Southall.

United supporters knew that they should have been cheering their team's second goal rather than their first. In the third minute, after Stevens had brought Olsen down Strachan missed his fourth penalty out of five, his third in succession and his fifth of the season. He had arranged to hand the job over to Olsen but according to Ron Atkinson, the United manager, Olsen had

been too shaken up by the foul to do the business. "Shaken up?" said Olsen, perplexed, "no, I just didn't fancy it. There's nothing like a Dane."

Mountfield brought the score level just before half-time after Curran had headed on a corner from Steven and from then on Everton had more of the play territorially. With seven minutes remaining Albiston pushed Steven to the ground in the penalty area in the absent-minded fashion of a defender hoping to get away with it.

Everton were still awarded the penalty and Sheedy's shot was firmer than Strachan's but Bailey, guessing correctly, dived sharply to his left to make a superb save. Could the championship become a tale of four keepers—Southall, Bailey, Clemence and Grubbelaar?

Atkinson was making optimistic sounds about having both Robson and Moses back in the midfield for United's UEFA Cup match against

Videoton in Hungary on Wednesday. Robson himself was less confident. He is still troubled by a knee injury which is healing only slowly and thought it unlikely that he would be available for the weekend at the earliest.

Presumably Stapleton will return to the attack provided he has shaken off his flu, a change which will please those United supporters who were calling for the withdrawal of Brazil on Saturday. There were periods in the game when the unhappy Scot looked in need of the sanctuary of his dressing-room as he lunged for unwinable balls and suffered most of the cruel bounces that were going.

But he achieved an important part in the scoring of United's goal and with a quarter-of-an-hour remaining, just as somebody muttered that Brazil was playing more like Ecuador, he met a pass from Olsen with a thunderous shot that ought to have released his frustration. However, the ball bounced off the bar and it would have taken a particularly hard heart not to have sympathised with the player in that moment.

"The result hasn't helped us," said Atkinson, "but Spurs have started to close in on us. How can that be? It might affect Everton." Wise words, but at the same time one cannot be sure how the coming UEFA Cup encounter with Real Madrid are going to affect Tottenham. When it comes to advancing on two fronts, the domestic and the European, Liverpool possess more wisdom than the rest of their rivals put together.

Saturday's exhilarating match has set the standard for the season's lengthy climax. It would have made an enthralling television coverage live but thank goodness the game was spared that. These occasions belong in front of a packed crowd on a Saturday afternoon and not in the nation's armchairs on a Friday night.

SCORES: Manchester United 1, Tottenham 1; Arsenal 2, W Ham 1; Everton 1, Tottenham 1; Liverpool 1, Tottenham 1; Newcastle 1, Tottenham 1; Sheffield Wed 1, Tottenham 1; Stoke 0, Tottenham 0; Wigan 0, Tottenham 0; Wolves 0, Tottenham 0; York 0, Tottenham 0.

WEEKEND RESULTS AND TABLES

CAROL LEAGUE—FIRST DIVISION
 Arsenal 2, W Ham 1; Everton 1, Tottenham 1; Liverpool 1, Tottenham 1; Newcastle 1, Tottenham 1; Sheffield Wed 1, Tottenham 1; Stoke 0, Tottenham 0; Wigan 0, Tottenham 0; Wolves 0, Tottenham 0; York 0, Tottenham 0.

Team	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Everton	27	16	6	5	48	32	34
Tottenham	27	16	6	5	48	32	34
Liverpool	27	16	6	5	48	32	34
Newcastle	27	16	6	5	48	32	34
Sheffield Wed	27	16	6	5	48	32	34
Stoke	27	16	6	5	48	32	34
Wigan	27	16	6	5	48	32	34
Wolves	27	16	6	5	48	32	34
York	27	16	6	5	48	32	34

SECOND DIVISION
 Arsenal 2, W Ham 1; Everton 1, Tottenham 1; Liverpool 1, Tottenham 1; Newcastle 1, Tottenham 1; Sheffield Wed 1, Tottenham 1; Stoke 0, Tottenham 0; Wigan 0, Tottenham 0; Wolves 0, Tottenham 0; York 0, Tottenham 0.

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Wigan	27	16	6	5	48	32	34
Wolves	27	16	6	5	48	32	34
York	27	16	6	5	48	32	34

THIRD DIVISION
 Arsenal 2, W Ham 1; Everton 1, Tottenham 1; Liverpool 1, Tottenham 1; Newcastle 1, Tottenham 1; Sheffield Wed 1, Tottenham 1; Stoke 0, Tottenham 0; Wigan 0, Tottenham 0; Wolves 0, Tottenham 0; York 0, Tottenham 0.

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Wigan	27	16	6	5	48	32	34
Wolves	27	16	6	5	48	32	34
York	27	16	6	5	48	32	34

FOURTH DIVISION
 Arsenal 2, W Ham 1; Everton 1, Tottenham 1; Liverpool 1, Tottenham 1; Newcastle 1, Tottenham 1; Sheffield Wed 1, Tottenham 1; Stoke 0, Tottenham 0; Wigan 0, Tottenham 0; Wolves 0, Tottenham 0; York 0, Tottenham 0.

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Wigan	27	16	6	5	48	32	34
Wolves	27	16	6	5	48	32	34
York	27	16	6	5	48	32	34

WORLD CUP QUALIFYING TOURNAMENT
 Arsenal 2, W Ham 1; Everton 1, Tottenham 1; Liverpool 1, Tottenham 1; Newcastle 1, Tottenham 1; Sheffield Wed 1, Tottenham 1; Stoke 0, Tottenham 0; Wigan 0, Tottenham 0; Wolves 0, Tottenham 0; York 0, Tottenham 0.

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Stoke	27	16	6	5	48	32	34
Wigan	27	16	6	5	48	32	34
Wolves	27	16	6	5	48	32	34
York	27	16	6	5	48	32	34

Robert Armstrong
 Arsenal 2, W Ham 1

Romantic out of his time

Charlie Nicholas continues to tantalise Highbury like a rock star who consents to make only guest appearances. You would have thought the gifted Scot had gone absent without leave for a time of scruffy football with W Ham. But when he did briefly get involved Arsenal purred along like a new lioness instead.

Charlie may still be the darling of the North Bank but his future with the Gunners must be in doubt if the club fail at least to qualify for Europe next season.

The trouble with Nicholas 18 months after leaving Celtic is that he has still not acquired the strength of body and mean-spirited outlook needed for survival in the First Division. As Jack Stein remarked a few days ago, he is like "a piece of fine bone china". Beautiful to watch in space but brittle when handled roughly. The same used to be said of Glenn Hoddle.

As he scampered about forlornly, with the ball flying to and fro above his head, the melancholy thought occurred that Nicholas is simply a child out of his time. Think of the havoc he might have caused 30 years ago, ghosting elegantly into all that free space between the central stopper and his outlying full-backs.

West Ham are far from being assassins but men like Orr, Allen and Pike possess enough skill and slyness to see off any romantic Celt who merely wants to play fribble. No one was greatly surprised when another precise pugnacious dynamo, Cortes, snatched up a loose ball from under O'Leary's nose and flicked the Hammers into the lead within half an hour.

It seemed there might have another managerial crisis on our hands as Arsenal lurched forward ponderously. Robson was booked for a crude foul, and Woodcock studied the ball as if it were a rare art treasure. Strange to reflect that Don Howe can leave out consistent professionals like Talbot and Jennings.

Patrick Barclay—Liverpool 1, Nottingham Forest 0

Clough-laid plans gone awry

BRIAN CLOUGH and his Nottingham Forest players have enviable jobs for which they are well paid. But at 3.45 on Saturday afternoon I felt very sorry for them.

They had gone to Liverpool with plans, meticulously laid, that were carried out so assiduously as to threaten the champions' revival. Then Swain tackled Whelan in the penalty, and the watching Kop saw nothing untoward. But the referee did, and the sight of his finger pointing to the spot produced an understandable eruption of anguish.

Bowler, the captain, took a dual role of peeper and policeman. Arms spread, he restrained the fury of his furious team while asking Mr Jones what on earth the award was for. Clough, meanwhile, paced the perimeter track, incredulous head bowed in hands.

Justice demanded that Gordon Strachan be brought along the East Lancashire Road to take the penalty.

Instead Wark stepped up and hampered it home. The rest of the afternoon was predictably nasty. Dalgleish raised a foot to the fired-up Bowler and was thumped by Metgod, Hodge and Fairclough joined Hart in the referee's book for fouls on the much-abused Rush.

And it was probably just as well—despite all the usual arguments about freedom of speech and the public's right to know—that Clough bound himself and his players to their customary vow of post-match silence. Outmanoeuvring Liverpool still means a lot to Forest, and for more than that the match had come close to doing so. As Joe Fagan said: "It was what I expected—hard. But there was football played at times and although Brian has said tongue in cheek that Forest are not good enough to challenge for the title they could have gone close—very close—but for this setback."

With the 20-year-old Fairclough a magnificent pillar of defence, they gave little away while posing a recurrent threat on the break. They might have had a penalty in the first half when Neal brought down Hodge. But decisions continued to go against them, Liverpool's goal being followed by refusals of penalties for tackles by Lawrenson on Metgod and Riley.

That Forest were anything but angels was indicated by the list of knocks reported by Liverpool players: Dalgleish (one in the back, one above the eye), Rush (concussion), Wark (ankle), Hansen (shin). But all except the suspended Dalgleish should be available for Wednesday's European Cup tie in Vienna.

SCORES: Liverpool: Wark, pen (49 min). Forest: Griffiths, Metgod, Lawrenson, Dalgleish, Rush, 50 min; Whelan, Hart, Macdonald, Wark.

Walsley: Foster, Metgod, Smith, Fairclough, Hodge, Hogg, Metgod, Riley, 15 min; Dawson, Hogg.

Referee: T. Jones (Macclesfield).

Michael Nally—Blackburn Rovers 0, Manchester City 1

Kinsey takes Lee way to the top

YOUNG Manchester City fans trooped home past the terrace houses outside the stadium to watch the chorus of Glory O. Their team might just have won a place in Paradise, rather than near-earthly eminence at the top of the Second Division.

City were not that good, however. They impressed in patches only, advancing down the flanks, then falling back on often untidy defence. Nonetheless, Williams, their goalkeeper, was untouchable for much of the match.

By contrast, Gemoe was under pressure throughout at the other end. Poor covering and clearing left him exposed four times in the first half, fatally so on the last occasion. Power crossed from the left and Kinsey tried to

make contact and failed — but Keeley gave him a second chance, and he did not repeat the mistake.

Kinsey, having shaken off 'fue, was City's most persistent attacker. He ran intelligently and strongly throughout; he created space off the ball, and he was decisive on it. A mid-aged City fan remembered Francis Lee when football was more important to the former England player than his waste-paper business. Kinsey, like Lee at his most combative, prefers the shortest route to goal.

McCarthy held the City defence together. He combined the traditional virtues of a stopper with an awareness of the need to feed those in front of him and follow up their efforts.

Rovers had neither the gumption nor the legs for an effective challenge. When they held the ball, they did so without conviction. They lacked the stamina and pace to make the most of their few openings.

They were handicapped by the assistance with an ankle injury of Broderston, one of their Irish internationals. Quinn, who enlivened the international at Windsor Park earlier in the week, had left his bite in Belfast. It was Garner who hit the bar five minutes from the whistle, and McCarthy was there to hoist the ball to safety.

SCORES: Manchester City: Kinsey (50 min). Blackburn: Keegan, Broderston, Quinn, Garner, Phillips, Smith, Fairclough, Hodge, Hogg, Metgod, Riley, 15 min; Dawson, Hogg.

Referee: T. Jones (Macclesfield).

Russell Thomas—Oxford United 0, Birmingham City 3

Blues power passes physical

OXFORD UNITED lost their unbeaten home League record, three promotion points and their captain as Birmingham inflicted a huge dose of the Blues on the Manor Ground on Saturday.

A match of over-physical contest, leniently refereed, it lent the worst meaning to its promotion-battle billing. The trial of strength on the field—won comfortably by Birmingham—was followed off by a verbal attack from Oxford's Jim Smith and a cool defence by Birmingham's Ron Saunders.

The cold statistics of the match showed three Birmingham goals—securing a post-war club record of 11 away wins—two bookings and one serious injury casualty. Missing from that list is the host of fouls observed by Mr Shapter but not suitably punished.

Between Oxford's Briggs and Shotton and Clarke and Geddis of Birmingham brought no caution but did call for a stretcher in the 42nd minute to remove Shotton with damaged ankle ligaments.

With the Oxford captain went his team's hopes of retrieving a game virtually lost within the first half-hour as Clarke and Geddis eagerly snatched up chances handed by Hardwick's mispunch and a cruel rebound off the defensive wall. The bounce was equally unkind to Oxford just before the interval when Landman's 35-yard curling shot rebounded from an upright into the pursuing Seaman's arms.

Rearranged Oxford, made to look increasingly light-weight, also lost the battle of stamina as Birmingham pounded on and opened up the kind of yawning gap which Roberts and Jones exploited for Clarke to head

his second neatly home. The post-mortems were suitably prickly as Smith pondered the damage, not least the loss of three points to his former club.

"I thought they would be physical but they went a little bit more than I anticipated and the referee allowed them to be. Geddis must have committed 20 fouls and he wasn't even booked. If we'd played like that away, we would have had four or five bookings."

Saunders was unruffled. "I was pleased with the way we played—we thoroughly deserved to win. Geddis took a tremendous amount of stick and we took a lot generally. I don't think we gave as much as we got."

SCORES: Birmingham: Clarke (16 min), Geddis (27), Seaman (42), Roberts (45), Jones (48), Smith (50), Hardwick (55), Landman (60), Shotton (65), Shapter (70), Shotton (75), Shotton (80), Shotton (85), Shotton (90), Shotton (95), Shotton (100).

Erland Clouston

Stoke 0, Spurs 1

Not so wild about Barry

SPURS stride on — nine away victories out of 18; two points off the leadership of the First Division; and a UEFA Cup quarter-final tie with Real Madrid on Wednesday.

On Saturday, an uproarious error by Stoke's goalkeeper, Barry, led to a goal from Port Vale, gifted Tottenham their three points. One fell sorry for Stoke. They tried. They looked in patches as they lost, Blackburn or Oxford. Unfortunately, the present Tottenham team are measured by a different yardstick.

The corner count was eight-nine in Spurs' favour, so clearly they were some sort of match out there. Stoke's problem was that they could not sustain the intensity of passing movements needed to disconcert quality defenders; far too many attacks succumbed to a feeble ball rather than a strong tackle.

Poor Tottenham goalkeepers after 11 appearances, didn't get one cross all afternoon. Spurs, in contrast, looked fluid, inventive, carefree. The home defence always appeared to be easier to break down, and yet somehow never quite did. McIlroy worked intelligently. Dyson sweated heroically. Siddall saved superbly from Hoddle, Crooks and Stevens (twice).

All this made his 48th minute aberration that much more poignant. Scampering from his area to hoof a Hoddle pass back upfield, Siddall missed the ball completely — to the delight of Crooks who only had to master his own assessment to trundle the ball into the net.

SCORES: Tottenham: Crooks (46 min). Stoke: Hoddle (16), Barry (20), Port Vale (25), Port Vale (30), Port Vale (35), Port Vale (40), Port Vale (45), Port Vale (50), Port Vale (55), Port Vale (60), Port Vale (65), Port Vale (70), Port Vale (75), Port Vale (80), Port Vale (85), Port Vale (90), Port Vale (95), Port Vale (100).

CYCLING

Charles Burgess
 at Avallon

Peiper calls prologue tune

THE AUSTRALIAN Allan Peiper will wear the leaders' jersey, white on this occasion, when the first stage of Paris-Nice, the race to the sunsets of this month, starts in Avallon which, incidentally, is nowhere near the capital but 200 kilometres south.

The 24-year-old from Melbourne, now living in Belgium, confirmed his prowess in individual time trials when he beat star-studded fields in yesterday's prologue on a twisting 6.4 kilometre circuit around the windy streets of Nanterre, a suburb west of Paris. He was third in the Tour de France prologue last year.

Peiper, of the Peugeot team, rode a specially designed low profile bike to clock a time of 5min 13sec, an average speed of 46.7 kph (just over 28 mph). He was a second faster than the 25-year-old Dutchman from the Panasonic-Raleigh team, Bert Oosterbosch, and 10 seconds better than the third-placed Laurent Fignon, the Renault leader who has won two successive Tours de France and is riding the Paris-Nice for the first time.

Three English speaking riders filled the next three places: Sean Yates of Sussex, another Peugeot man was fourth, Stephen Roche of Ireland, the team leader of Redoute, who was second last year and winner in 1981, was fifth and Phil Anderson, the Australian leader of Raleigh was sixth.

Yates was a little peeved that his team bosses had not given him a special bike like Peiper's. "Maybe they don't think I'm good enough," he said.

It is doubtful whether the second stage will matter much. They are seven days and nearly 1,150 kilometres to go before the 86 riders hit the Cote d'Azur and much will happen before then. There are bonus seconds to be won in the mountains and the end of each stage so leads of a second or two can easily fall.

Still, Sean Kelly, the Irish leader of the Skill team who is aiming for his fourth successive victory in this race, will be unhappy to have let Fignon gain a 10 second lead over him early. Many see this race developing into a battle between Fignon and Kelly, two of the great superstars of Europe.

Kelly, the best all-rounder last season, finished 15th and attempts to learn his thoughts came to naught. He sailed through the waiting pressmen and headed away, a lonely figure on a tree-lined avenue, to the showers.

Peiper was well prepared for this prologue. On Saturday night in Ghent he had talked to his Belgian coach and he had predicted victory. The coach had paced Peiper on a Derris, a moped used for such purposes on the long straight roads near the Belgian town. Peiper had ridden at 75 kilometres an hour for an hour, on three separate occasions, using his bike as a windshield in other words the Australian was in tremendous form.

His Peugeot team are taking this race extremely

SPORT
IN BRIEFFrancisco
breaks in

VOOKER: Silvio Francisco broke the 100m sprint to win his first major prize when he beat Kirk Steele 12.4 to take the £50,000 prize in the Dux British Open at Derby yesterday. He plans to spend most of the money on building a snooker room at his permanent home in Chesterfield, writes Clive Everton.

In emulating Dennis Taylor, winner of the Rothmans' GP in October, and Willie Thorne, who captured the Mercantile Credit Classic in January, the 38-year-old South African confirmed his status as the circuit's most improved player.

Even before his Dux wins over Jimmy White, Tony Meo and Alex Higgins, he had done enough to belie his 17th place in the world ranking and his self-belief held firm yesterday when Stevens put him under pressure by winning the first three frames gap at 1-0 and went three up with four to play, with the aid of two dukes, one of them on the last red, "the other the frame-ball green."

However, Francisco reopened the two frame gap at 1-2 and went three up with four to play, with the aid of two dukes, one of them on the last red, "the other the frame-ball green."

SKING: Steven Lee of Australia and Daniel Mahler of Switzerland, two reputed downhill specialists, celebrated an unexpected joint victory in a men's super giant slalom race in Japan yesterday. It was their first World Cup win. The two skiers who finished sixth and seventh respectively in the downhill, beat young Brian Stannell of Canada by 0.38 seconds in a race again hampered by bad weather.

Todd Brooker of Canada, one of the most aggressive skiers on the circuit, hurtled to his first World Cup downhill victory since 1983. Brooker, aged 25, from Paris, Ontario, won by 0.56 seconds over Swiss Wildgruber of West Germany with Bruno Kernen of Switzerland third.

Austria's Katrin Guttensohn, silver medal winner in the downhill at the recent world Championships, captured her first World Cup victory on Saturday in a downhill on Vall mountain, Colorado.

BASKETBALL: Like their football team, Manchester United's basketball players are developing the worrying habit of coming second. Last night they lost 79-73 to Millwall in the final of the Swindon-Motors Anglo-Scottish Cup at Leicester, writes Peter Ball. United fell apart in the second half after leading 45-38 at half-time. Edinburgh's recovery, being orchestrated by the most important battle inside, however, was won by Foggie, the top scorer with 26 points, and Way.



SOCCER: Trevor Francis, the England international, was carried off on a stretcher after a clash of heads in Sampdoria's 1-0 defeat of Udinese yesterday. Above, Francis is taken to hospital on his way to hospital in Genoa.

In Milan, Ray Wilkins deflected a Diego Maradona shot into his own net, but his side recovered to beat Napoli 2-1. Verona stretched their lead at the top of the Italian League to 10 points after a 2-0 win against Roma, who later had Bruno Conti sent off.

In Spain, Steve Archibald scored his 15th of the season as champions-elect Barcelona won 5-2 at Valencia.

RUGBY UNION: The RFU faces the task of quick recovery after an injury forced to the referee, Paul Russell, to leave the field early in yesterday's London Irish-Bosley Park London Merit Table clash.

The match continued under a Rosslyn Park official, Colin Horgan, a junior referee. There is no rule to cover such a happening so that neither club knows whether Park's 12-6 win stands as a Merit Table result. Both would prefer to replay the match, which decides whether Irish qualify for next year's John Player Cup, but the final decision rests with the RFU.

EQUESTRIANISM: Nick Skelton and Everest St James, top money-winners in 1984, opened their new season with a victory in the Antwerp GP, returning the fastest of four years in an 11-hour second barrage, writes John Kerr.

This was Skelton's second and Britain's fifth win in the seven European qualifiers for the Volvo World Cup to date.

John Rodda reports from Athens

Bennett highlight of
GB's gold standard

ATHLETICS

BRITAIN presented her new riches to the athletic world at the European Indoor Championships this weekend with a world-best performance in the 400 metres from Todd Bennett, two further gold medals for Mike McFarlane in the 60 metres and Rob Harrison at 800 metres, and bronze prizes for Heather Oakes in the short sprint and Yvonne Murray at 3,000 metres.

Kirsty McDermott would almost certainly have joined the medal roster had she not tumbled in the final lap of the 800 metres, and Jonathan Ridgeon will do so in the hurdles once his technique overcomes the painful error of clipping most obstacles with his knee.

Altogether there was the comfortable feeling that, whether or not Coe and Ovett are getting a bit old in the world ranking and his self-belief held firm yesterday when Stevens put him under pressure by winning the first three frames gap at 1-0 and went three up with four to play, with the aid of two dukes, one of them on the last red, "the other the frame-ball green."

Certainly, Bennett is the No. 1 hero of the gathering, bringing 11,000 Athenians to their feet as he sped through two laps of the track to a time of 45.56 secs, four-hundredths of a second faster than the man who beat him in the world indoor games earlier this year, Thomas Schoonime of East Germany. There had been the tantalising hint that Bennett could become Britain's second athlete to achieve a world indoor-best mark—Seb Coe with 1 min 44.91secs for 800 metres is the other—by the way he turned off, and then

Greek drugs row

Greece is suffering humiliation and the prospect of a deepening political row after several athletes were withdrawn from the European Indoor Championships because they provided positive samples in a dope test, writes John Rodda from Athens.

The tests were made several days after the closing of the event, and the results, announced on the night before the event began, stunned the organisation of the championships and the government, who were behind the operation to fund the event, as well as having paid \$44 million for the new indoor stadium.

The six athletes involved

have all professed their innocence and a determination to make out an inkblot on their names. Yesterday there was an attempt to ease the seriousness of the situation with an announcement that there was only a suspicion that the athletes had taken some banned substance. The samples will be tested again in Rome.

Sir Arthur Gold, the British president of the European Athletic Association, has heaped praise on the Greek Athletic Federation for their action. "I applaud their vigilance and courageous country who will stand up and fight this abuse of our sport," he told me.

The sponsors borrowed a Hollywood technique and billed Miss Budd with the title. The promotion material invited the public to participate — and 4,000 did — in brochures urging them to "This is not really true. The 29 'elite' women competing with Miss Budd were not only separated from the public, but also from the 54 male stars whose race was won by Ireland's John Treacy in 27.46. This was the first time in the event that men and women had been split and both Sly and Welch regretted it. The events were separated for two reasons.

One was the security, which the police had decided would be simpler with a divided field. The other reason was the US TV network which bought the film rights

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turned on again, the pace in his semi-final. In the final he had the comfortable third lane, took the lead with a thrust in the back straight, was first to break, eased perceptibly into the hands, and then poured on the speed in the back straight and then again in the home finish. That is exactly the way to gold medals in this business, for there is not much to be gained by challengers who attack on the bend. Bennett was not aware that Klaus Just was getting close but the West German really provided no danger.

One arm raised slightly above his head as he crossed the line was Bennett's modest response to the lights of the digital clock which showed the enormity of his performance. Then there was a lap of honour as the Athenians rose to him. If it was a tactically-mature performance the pace also showed the strength of his running, for the first half was a slow 21.7secs. Bennett will be running lots of fast races this summer.

Harrison has moved from pace-maker to champion by this performance, and here again the maturity of his running at this level is evidence that Britain has another formidable 800 and 1500 metres talent. He has shed the legend of being over-cerebral's pace-maker after a summer of East Germany track races in which he was, most times, the hare.

He allowed Axel Harries of West Germany to take him through the first half in a time of 55.94, that time required a change of tactic and Harrison burst ahead to

raise the pace and so avoid a scramble into the last bends. Having achieved that he was, conveniently, overtaken by Petru Dratonescu of Romania, who kept the pace flowing nicely until the final bend when Harrison turned the screw.

At 25, and with a strong background of hard running behind him—he has won seven four mile cross country races this winter—he must be one of Britain's principal challengers for a medal in the world student games this summer.

McFarlane, after a European junior title and a Commonwealth Games gold medal, has now put a title to his name that will give him confidence and advance his running career a further important stage. He is now a successor to Adrian Wells and he will, after running at Cosford on Saturday, go away to ensure that what he has achieved in Athens over 60 metres will re-emerge at the longer outdoor sprinting distances.

He took the gold with a superb dip at the line, having been behind at the 50 metres mark. It was his coolness among a lot of highly psyched-up athletic specimens which brought the prize.

Mrs Oakes, really thinking about summer training, still had the sharpness and purpose to get up into a significant battle—in which Nellie Cooman of the Netherlands, whose parents are from Surinam, beat the East German world record breaker, Marlies Gehr.

Miss McDermott comes out occasionally with a surprising performance. She raised a few eyebrows in winning the Commonwealth Games 500 metres title in Brisbane and she was about to do something similar going into the last lap here, chasing two Romanians, when she clipped the heel of one and went tumbling.

In the 3,000 metres Yvonne Murray fully justified selection for these championships, and she was with the pace in the 3,000 metres and then following on hard when Agnese Possamai, of Italy, made her break. Miss Murray could not quite cope with the sort of speed required in the final lap but this time she was in. In 9 min 09.4secs, slashing 22sec from her previous best, is a significant breakthrough.

Indeed, Dave Lewis, the 23-year-old Bessendale runner who won the race, is not just a fast runner but a tactician. This Saturday he runs

against the United States at Cosford in the 3,000 metres. "If my time is over eight minutes I won't go to the world championships. It takes a lot of you running in these conditions."

This was real cross country; mud up to the armpits; sheer, bloody hell. The track was a mess, and the rain never mind the speed, felt the stambs. Kamona Martin, the pre-race favourite, lapped in 20th.

In Portugal, on a hard, true severe-mile course, Martin might have been in his element, but the mudbats have the say. One day, perhaps, the England Cross Country Union selectors might wake up to the fact that it's a bit daft to have

crossed the line in 44 minutes 30 seconds, six seconds less of Clarke, and 20 seconds up on Murphy.

that selecting on a first-past-the-post basis in a race that bears no relation to the next one is a bit daft.

"Pre-selection," the form men cry, but the ECCU lead a deaf ear. Never mind. Take nothing away from Saturday's race. As a spectacle it was marvellous, with nearly 2,000 running in the senior event among the trees and fields of Milton Keynes's Keynes has anything but outdoors, if indeed Milton

Lewis and Dave Clarke quickly opened up a lead with another Dave, the Murphy who finished second in the New York marathon, trying desperately to haul them back. And that's how they finished, Lewis sinking to his knees in triumph as he crossed the line in 44 minutes 30 seconds, six seconds less of Clarke, and 20 seconds up on Murphy.

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MUD AND GUTS: Runners slog and crawl their way around the Milton Keynes course on Saturday. Picture by Tommy Hindley

Stephen Bierley at Milton Keynes

Muddy pieces of eight

EIGHT men, good and true, slogged their way through a mile of glutinous mud to take the leading places in the English National cross-country championships on Saturday and win selection for the world championships in Lisbon on March 24. Rather like crossing the Sahara by camel in preparation for an assault on the North Pole.

The lucky man was Julian Geater, who had a cold and stayed at home. The selectors gave him the ninth and final place for Portugal on merit. Two other leading runners, Mike McLeod and Tim Hutchings, have opted out.

Indeed, Dave Lewis, the 23-year-old Bessendale runner who won the race, is not just a fast runner but a tactician. This Saturday he runs

against the United States at Cosford in the 3,000 metres. "If my time is over eight minutes I won't go to the world championships. It takes a lot of you running in these conditions."

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MUD AND GUTS: Runners slog and crawl their way around the Milton Keynes course on Saturday. Picture by Tommy Hindley

Stephen Bierley at Milton Keynes

Muddy pieces of eight

EIGHT men, good and true, slogged their way through a mile of glutinous mud to take the leading places in the English National cross-country championships on Saturday and win selection for the world championships in Lisbon on March 24. Rather like crossing the Sahara by camel in preparation for an assault on the North Pole.

The lucky man was Julian Geater, who had a cold and stayed at home. The selectors gave him the ninth and final place for Portugal on merit. Two other leading runners, Mike McLeod and Tim Hutchings, have opted out.

Indeed, Dave Lewis, the 23-year-old Bessendale runner who won the race, is not just a fast runner but a tactician. This Saturday he runs

against the United States at Cosford in the 3,000 metres. "If my time is over eight minutes I won't go to the world championships. It takes a lot of you running in these conditions."

This was real cross country; mud up to the armpits; sheer, bloody hell. The track was a mess, and the rain never mind the speed, felt the stambs. Kamona Martin, the pre-race favourite, lapped in 20th.

In Portugal, on a hard, true severe-mile course, Martin might have been in his element, but the mudbats have the say. One day, perhaps, the England Cross Country Union selectors might wake up to the fact that it's a bit daft to have

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BBC-1

6.00 am CeeFax AM 6.50 Breakfast Time. 9.20 Pages from CeeFax. 10.30 Play School. 10.50 Pages from CeeFax. 12.30 pm News after Noon. 12.57 Regional News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at One. 1.45 Postman Pat. 2.00 Men. 2.15 Music Time. 2.30 Streetwise: self-defence techniques. 2.35 Prime Time Live. 2.50 Songs of Praise. 3.00 From Cardiff. 3.25 Pages from CeeFax. 3.45 Regional News (except London and Scotland). 3.50 Play School. 4.10 SuperTed. 4.15 Jackanory. Wilkes the Wizard by Jackie Webb. 4.30 Banana-Man. 4.35 Fonz and the Happy Days Gang. 5.00 John Craven's Newsround. 5.55 News. Peter CeeFax sub-titles. 5.55 Grange Hill. CeeFax sub-titles. 6.00 NEWS: Weather News. 6.35 REGIONAL NEWS MAGAZINES. 7.00 WOGAN. 7.40 FAME: Spontaneous Combustion. Things are getting pretty heated at the Performing Arts School, with what the extra-curricular band on popping and popping, and some protesting students wanting to make a song and dance about it. Can youthfulness be contained? 8.30 ARE YOU BEING SERVED? Stocktaking time at Grace Brothers - but the staff aren't the only ones planning to take the stock. Mollie Sugden, John Inman, Frank Thornton lead the in-store cavorting. 9.00 NEWS: Weather News. 9.25 PANORAMA. Facing The Future of Coal. With the fall of the pound against the dollar, has British coal the chance of finding new overseas markets? But what is the scale of the damage to the coal faces during the strike? What are the prospects for the NAB, applying Ian MacGregor's style of management to a disgruntled group of managers? What kind of future faces the NUM? The questions are the subject of a film report by Fred Emery, with Peter Walker, the Energy Minister, interviewed live in the studio. 10.5 COOGAN'S BLUFF. Arizona sheriff Clint Eastwood heads East to collect a wanted killer from custody in New York, and has to show those smart city lawmen a thing or two when the baddie makes a run for it. Don Stroud, Susan Clark, Lee J. Cobb support in lively action yarn, good on locations, made in 1968 by Don D Siegel. 11.40 Weather, close. Wales: 5.35-6.00 pm Wales Today. 6.35-7.00 Grange Hill. Northern Ireland: 5.35 pm Today. 6.40-6.50 Inside Ulster. 6.55-7.00 Channel One. 11.42-11.45 Channel One Update.

BBC-2

6.30-6.55 am Open University. 9.00 Pages from CeeFax. 9.15 Daytime on Two: Higher Education; 9.30 Going to Work; 10.00 You and Me; 10.15 Music Time; 10.30 Twentieth-Century History - The Road to Berlin 1945-49; 11.00 Zig Zag (CeeFax sub-titles); 11.25 Des le Debut; 11.45 General Studies. The Baby Trade; 12.10 pm LifeGames; 12.40 Plants in Action; 1.15 Rockschool; 1.30 Pages from CeeFax; 1.35 Scotland this Century; 2.00 Words and Pictures; 2.15 The History Trail; 2.40 The Music Arcade. 3.00 Pages from CeeFax. 5.25 NEWS with sub-titles; weather. 5.30 LIFEBOAT. The Arun's Turned Us Soft. Another re-run with the men of the Humber lifeboat. 6.00 THE LETTER. The Hollywood Ladies season continues with William Wyler's effective study of the woman of the Somerset Maugham story, made in 1940, with Bette Davis smouldering splendidly as the Malaysian rubber planter's wife who claims to have shot her lover (James Stephenson) in self-defence. 7.35 FLOWER OF THE MONTH: Primula. With Geoffrey Smith. 7.45 MADHUR JAFFREY'S INDIAN COOKERY. Lemong Chicken. Repeated recipes, too, for the spicy rice and fresh chutney to go with it. 8.10 HORIZON. What Einstein Never Knew. Has modern science found the key to the ultimate mystery - the fundamental law which explains all the phenomena of nature? Tonight's film shows how today's physicists, delving deep underground and observing the limits of the universe, may soon be able to formulate the single complete theory of the universe which was Einstein's dream. 9.00 THE BOB MONKHOUSE SHOW with fellow funsters Mike Reid, Duncan Norville, and, from the States, Monteith and Rand. 9.50 ARENA: Marcel Carne. Gavin Millar introduces this profile of the great French film director, auteur, with Les Enfants Du Paradis, of what some rate as the finest product of the French cinema. The programme, which includes a first TV interview with the 70-year-old director, heralds a season of his best known films starting on Friday. 10.55 NEWSNIGHT. 11.40 Weather. 11.45 TELE-JOURNAL. Chantal Cuer con-cludes the series of French and Italian polishes with tonight's bulletin from Radio-Television Luxembourg. 12.15 Close.

ITV London

6.15 am Good Morning Britain. 9.25 News Headlines; Schools: 9.30 Picture Box; 9.47 Let's Read... with Basil Brush; 9.50 Stop, Look, Listen; 10.12 Starting Science; 10.22 The English Programme; 11.20 Seeing and Doing; 11.25 Junior Maths; 11.35 The French Programme; 12.00 Tickle on the Tum; 12.10 pm Let's Pretend; 12.30 Baby & Co. 1.00 pm News. 1.20 Thames News. 1.30 Film: Wilma. Biopic of Olympic athlete Wilma Rudolph with Cecily Tyson, Shirley Jo Finney. 2.25 News Headlines. 2.30 The Young Doctors. 4.00 Tickle on the Tum. 4.15 The Moomins. 4.20 He-Man and Masters of the Universe. 4.45 Dodger, Bonzo and the Rest. Oracle sub-titles. 5.15 World Figure Skating Championships. 5.45 NEWS: weather. 6.00 THAMES NEWS with Andrew Gardner and Tina Jenkins. 6.25 HELP! with Viv Taylor-Gee. 6.35 CROSSROADS. 7.00 WHAT'S MY LINE? Eamonn Andrews challenges the panel with more odd jobs. 7.30 CORONATION STREET. Oracle sub-titles. 8.00 ROLL OVER BEETHOVEN. Second episode of the new Marks and Gran sitcom, off to a promising start last week, with a short Nigel Planer hitting just the right note as the rock idol in search of musical legitimacy. Liza Goddard as the spinster piano teacher, Richard Vernon as her old school father, now exerting pressure to nip the developing relationship in the bud. Oracle sub-titles. 8.30 WORLD IN ACTION: Death of an English Rose. Hilda Murrell, died a year ago. She was abducted from her home, driven 500 miles through Shropshire town, centre, stabbed, and left to die in a field. She was not only a world famous rose grower but an anti-nuclear campaigner and suspicious have arisen that this was not the work of a 'stray burglar' but a security operation that went awry. New evidence is promised in the programme. 9.00 QUINCY: A Loss For Words. Jack Klugman as the forensic investigator, diagnosing the cause of a young worker's death in another imported drama. 10.00 NEWS AT TEN: weather. 10.30 BEN. This tasteless 1972 sequel to the box office hit Willard, about a boy and his killer rats, has the reviled rodents organising into an army to spread fear and terror, etc. Lee Harcourt Montgomery, Joseph Campanella lead. 12.15 NIGHT THOUGHTS with Frank Field, MP. Closedown.

Channel 4

2.35 pm Vietnam: The Ten Thousand Day War. 16: Frontline America. 3.00 The Late Late Show. 4.00 A Plus. 4.30 Countdown. 5.00 Alice. 5.30 4 COMPUTER BUFFS. BBC computer users with light pens at the ready can learn how to load the first ever Light Software Transmission, and this week's edition explains too how to enter the software market, and how to play with MUD. 6.00 WHERE IN THE WORLD. Ray Alan with another round of the travel quiz. 6.30 S.W.A.L.K. and Baby Makes Three. Continuing Paula Milne's re-run morality tale, with Nicola Cowper as teenager Amanda, Prunella Scales as the bad fairy agony aunt pushing her to sell out to romantic fantasies. 7.00 CHANNEL FOUR NEWS. 7.50 Comment by Brixton socialist David Dale. Weather. 8.00 BROOKSIDE. 8.30 RELATIVE STRANGERS. Matthew Kelly, Mark Farmer as reluctant father and truculent son in tacky sitcom. 9.00 REFLECTIONS: Legends of Rhythm and Blues. The musical history of the special style of the era, from its roots in the West Coast, at its zenith in Los Angeles during the forties - which was to pave the way for rock 'n' roll. Big Mama Thornton, Lowell Fulson, and Lloyd Glenn are some of the legendary names featured. 10.15 BEHIND THE SCREENS. Angela Rippon makes her British TV comeback to present this report on last night's annual BAFTA Craft Awards ceremony, which includes highlights of the presentation, a look at new developments in the various crafts like make-up, graphics, and special effects, and a detailed study of the work of the winning cinematographer. 11.15 THE ELEVENTH HOUR. Home-ground. Opening an Eleventh Hour session of new fiction films under the general title of Late Night Stories, Anthony Harrell's 1983 movie follows the experiences of expat, George Stevie who, fired by a kind of sentimental nostalgia de la boot when his home team wins at Wimbledon, heads back to Sunderland to rediscover his roots. 12.10 Close. S4C: 1.00 pm Countdown. 1.30 Face the Press. 2.00 Ffynestri. 2.20 Cei Cocos. 2.35 Am Gymru. 2.50 Ewyl. 3.15 Film: Stanley and Livingston (1939). Spencer Tracy, Cedric Hardwicke. 4.50 Dan Drael. 5.00 Straeon y Dydd. 5.30 4 Computer Buffs. 6.00 Discovery. 6.30 Dior, Dior. 7.00 Newyddion Seith. 7.30 Arwyl. 8.00 Treasured Hunt. 8.30 Bowser. 8.50 Y Byd ar Bedwar. 10.35 Families. 11.25 Behind the Scenes. 12.35 am Divedd.

Radio 1

6.00 am Adrian John. 7.00 Mike Read. 9.00 Andy Peebles. 12.00 Gary Davies. 2.30 pm Steve Wright. 5.00 Bruno Broome. 7.30 Janice Long. 10.12-10.30 John Peel. 10.30-11.00 Radio 2. 11.00-11.30 Radio 3. 11.30-12.00 Radio 4. 12.00-12.30 Radio 5. 12.30-1.00 Radio 6. 1.00-1.30 Radio 7. 1.30-2.00 Radio 8. 2.00-2.30 Radio 9. 2.30-3.00 Radio 10. 3.00-3.30 Radio 11. 3.30-4.00 Radio 12. 4.00-4.30 Radio 13. 4.30-5.00 Radio 14. 5.00-5.30 Radio 15. 5.30-6.00 Radio 16. 6.00-6.30 Radio 17. 6.30-7.00 Radio 18. 7.00-7.30 Radio 19. 7.30-8.00 Radio 20. 8.00-8.30 Radio 21. 8.30-9.00 Radio 22. 9.00-9.30 Radio 23. 9.30-10.00 Radio 24. 10.00-10.30 Radio 25. 10.30-11.00 Radio 26. 11.00-11.30 Radio 27. 11.30-12.00 Radio 28. 12.00-12.30 Radio 29. 12.30-1.00 Radio 30. 1.00-1.30 Radio 31. 1.30-2.00 Radio 32. 2.00-2.30 Radio 33. 2.30-3.00 Radio 34. 3.00-3.30 Radio 35. 3.30-4.00 Radio 36. 4.00-4.30 Radio 37. 4.30-5.00 Radio 38. 5.00-5.30 Radio 39. 5.30-6.00 Radio 40. 6.00-6.30 Radio 41. 6.30-7.00 Radio 42. 7.00-7.30 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